DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 033 454 EA 002 561

AUTHOR	Calder, Paula Holzman
TITLE	Role Conflict and Its Correlates in an Educational Setting. Final Report.
INSTITUTION	Columbia Univ., New York, N.Y. Bureau of Applied Social Research.
Spons Agency	Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C. Bureau of Research.
Bureau No	BR-7-8159
Pub Date	Jun 69
Grant	OEG-1-7-078159-3727
Note	67p.
EDRS Price	EDRS Price MF-$0.50 HC-$3.45
Descriptors	Group Dynamics, Group Norms, *Interpersonal Relationship, *Job Satisfaction, Organizational Climate, Principals, *Role Conflict, School Organization, School Systems, Social Status, Socioeconomic Background, Surveys, *Teacher Administrator Relationship, Teacher Attitudes, *Teachers

Abstract

Data from a sample survey of about 150 teachers and 12 principals are used to explore the relationship between teachers' organization satisfaction and role dissensus (role conflict which exists when two or more members of a role-set have conflicting expectations for the status of a particular role member). Two types of dissensus are examined: interposition or teacher-principal dissensus; and intraposition or teacher-teacher dissensus. The types of satisfaction are instrumental satisfaction with the organization (a school system), affective satisfaction with the organization, and affective satisfaction with the member's own unit. It was hypothesized that there would be an inverse relationship for each of three types of satisfaction and both intraposition and interposition role dissensus; a second hypothesis was that school buildings characterized by high role dissensus would have less satisfied teachers than school buildings characterized by low dissensus. For teachers who valued other teachers as a reference group, agreement with other teachers was consistent with very high levels of satisfaction. (MF)

ED033454

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

BUREAU OF APPLIED SOCIAL RESEARCH
Columbia University
605 West 115th Street
New York, N. Y. 10025

The Bureau of Applied Social Research is an instrument of Columbia University's Graduate Faculties for training and research in the social sciences. The Bureau has for many years served as the research laboratory of the Department of Sociology, and it also facilitates social research by students and faculty of other departments and schools of the University. The Bureau's governing board includes representatives from all of the University's social science departments and several professional schools.

The Bureau carries on a program of basic and applied research under grants and commissions from foundations, government agencies, social welfare and other nonprofit organizations, and business firms. In so doing it provides experience on major empirical studies to graduate students and makes available data and facilities for student projects; it provides research facilities to faculty members; it offers training and consultation to visiting scholars, especially from social research institutes in other countries; and it makes the results of its investigations available through publications for lay and scientific audiences.

A bibliography of Bureau books, monographs, articles, unpublished research reports, dissertations and masters' essays may be obtained from the Bureau's Librarian.

EA 002 561

BR 7-81
PA-24
OE-BR

ED033454

Final Report

Project No. 7-8159
Grant No. OEG-1-7-078159-3727

Role Conflict and Its Correlates in an Educational Setting

Mrs. Paula Holzman Calder
Columbia University
New York, New York 10027
Bureau of Applied Social Research

June 1969

The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a Small Contracts Grant with the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment in the conduct of the project. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official Office of Education position or policy.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education
Bureau of Research

CONTENTS

I. Introduction
  A. Summary
  B. Introduction
  C. Methods

II. Findings and Analysis
  A. The Dependent Variables
  B. The Independent Variables: Interposition and Intraposition Role Dissensus
  C. Dissensus and Satisfaction: The Two Variable Relationship
  D. Intraposition Dissensus and Satisfaction: Multivariate Analysis

III. Conclusions

IV. References

List of Tables (Section II)

A-I Forty Indicators of Satisfaction
A-II Multidimensional scaling of 40 variables
A-III Multidimensional scaling of 31 variables
A-IV Multidimensional scaling of 17 positively-worded indicators
A-V Multidimensional scaling of 15 positively-worded indicator
A-VI Multidimensional scaling of 14 neutrally-worded indicators
A-VII Teacher Instrumental, Affective, and Building-Affective Satisfaction
A-VIII Teacher Satisfaction in Washington, D.C.
A-IX Instrumental, Affective, and Building-Affective Satisfaction of Teachers and Principals
A-X Percent High, Instrumental, Affective and Building-Affective Satisfaction, by School Building

B-I Teachers' and Principals' Priority Rankings of 20 Role Expectations for Teachers (Percentages)
B-II Intraposition Dissensus Score and Rank for 13 School Buildings
Interposition Dissensus Score and Rank for 14 School Buildings
B-III Percent Low, Medium and High in Teacher-Teacher Dissensus by Teacher-Principal Dissensus
B-IV Percentages of Low, Medium and High Teacher-Principal Dissensus Teachers Who Give the Rank of "1" to 3 Pivotal Role Expectations

CONTENTS (cont.)

C-I Mean Building-Affective, Instrumental and Affective Satisfaction Scores by Intraposition (Teacher-Teacher) Dissensus
C-II Building-Affective, Instrumental and Affective Satisfaction by Intraposition Dissensus (Trichotomized)
C-III Building-Affective, Instrumental, and System-Affective Satisfaction by Interposition (Teacher-Principal) Dissensus
C-IV Building-Affective, Instrumental, and System-Affective Satisfaction by Interposition Dissensus (Trichotomized)
C-V Total Satisfaction by Interposition Dissensus
C-VI Building-Affective, Instrumental and System-Affective Satisfaction by School Building Intraposition Dissensus
C-VII Building-Affective, Instrumental, and System-Affective Satisfaction by School Building Interposition Dissensus

D-I Mean Satisfaction by Intraposition Dissensus and Type of Undergraduate Schooling
D-II Mean Satisfaction by Intraposition Dissensus and Number of Years in School Building
D-III Mean Satisfaction by Intraposition Dissensus and Father's Education
D-IV Mean Satisfaction by Intraposition Dissensus and Sex

SECTION I - INTRODUCTION

A. Summary

The problem reported on here concerns the relationship between members' organization satisfaction and role dissensus (the situation which exists when two or more members of the role-set of a status incumbent have conflicting expectations for his status). Three types of satisfaction have been empirically identified: instrumental satisfaction with the organization (a school system), as a whole; affective satisfaction with the organization as a whole; and affective satisfaction with the member's own unit of the organization (the school building). Two types of dissensus are examined: interposition, or, in this case, teacher-principal dissensus; and intraposition, or teacher-teacher dissensus.

The data consist of the responses to a sample survey of about 150 teachers and 12 principals, in all 15 school buildings of one school system, located in a suburban city on the fringe of a large metropolitan area.

It was hypothesized that there would be an inverse relationship between each of the three types of satisfaction and both intraposition and interposition role dissensus: that is to say, that teachers who had the most disagreement with their principal, and with other teachers in their building, would show the smallest amounts of each of the three types of satisfaction measured. A second major hypothesis was that school buildings characterized by high intraposition and interposition role dissensus would have less satisfied teachers than school buildings characterized by low dissensus.

An area marked for exploration was the possible difference in bearing on satisfaction of the two different types of dissensus.

We found that the predicted relationship between building affective satisfaction and intraposition dissensus was confirmed at the .05 level of significance. The relationship between system-instrumental satisfaction and intraposition dissensus was roughly as predicted, but did not reach a statistically significant level. There was no relationship between system-affective satisfaction and intraposition dissensus.

The predicted relationship between satisfaction and interposition dissensus was not observed for any of the three satisfaction dimensions. Instead, it was observed that there was a curvilinear relationship between each of the three types of satisfaction and interposition dissensus. That is to say, the teachers who showed a moderate amount of disagreement with their principal were most likely to be satisfied with the system and with their own school buildings. Neither very low dissensus (high

agreement) nor very high dissensus (high disagreement) with the principal was associated with high satisfaction. Although this association did not reach a statistically significant level for any of the three measures of satisfaction alone, when the three were combined to form a single index of satisfaction, the curvilinear relationship was then found to be significant at between the .05 and .02 levels.

When we examined the building context, we found again that the relationship between building-affective satisfaction and building intraposition dissensus was in the predicted direction; the relationship between system-instrumental satisfaction and intraposition dissensus was roughly in the predicted direction; and there was no relationship between system-affective satisfaction and intraposition dissensus. None of the relationships reached a statistically significant level.

We found no relationship between building interposition dissensus and satisfaction.

We did further analysis on the relationship between satisfaction and intraposition dissensus, through the introduction of 5 "background" or antecedent variables. The linear relation between satisfaction and intraposition dissensus, described above, was found to be especially marked for teachers who occupied certain social statuses, while it was less marked, or absent, for teachers who occupied other statuses. Specifically, we found that low dissensus teachers (teachers who were in high agreement with other teachers in their own school building) showed very high amounts of all three types of satisfaction if they had the following statuses: low socio-economic status; female; graduate of teacher-training school (rather than liberal arts school); age of 50 or over; and presence in the school building for five or more years. Our explanation for this unexpected series of findings was that teachers in the statuses mentioned were more likely to take "other teachers" as a reference group than were teachers in the counterpart statuses (high socio-economic status; men; graduate of liberal arts school; under 50; in the building for less than five years. For those teachers for whom "other teachers" are a valued reference group, agreement with other teachers is consistent with very high levels of satisfaction. For others it is not so gratifying to be in agreement with other teachers. These findings show the theoretical importance of the reference group concept as a variable specifying the relationship between satisfaction and intraposition dissensus.

B. Introduction

The problem investigated here is the relationship between potential role conflict,* from now on referred to as role dissensus, and the satisfaction of the position incumbent with the organization. This analysis clarifies one of the bases for teacher satisfaction with her school building and school system.

Expectations others have for a person's work can be either a stimulus to doing a better, more productive job, or they can be a constraint, directing behavior away from what the person himself sees as his own proper goals. For a school teacher, two types of others whose expectations can be of the utmost importance are other teachers, and the principal. When the teacher's own ideas about her role are congruent with the expectations of the principal, and with those of most other teachers, then she feels supported in her work, and is able to direct her attention to the task at hand. On the other hand, when there is a great deal of disagreement on what the teacher should be doing in her job, then she must spend part of her energy in reconciling the disparate demands of several other teachers, or of the principal, on the one hand, and her own expectations for herself on the other. This latter situation is the one that may be called role dissensus.

A school building, taken as a unit, may be marked by a rather large number of conflicts of all kinds, or by a relatively smoothly working, harmonious, operation. It is hypothesized here that one of the significant types of conflict that affects the building as a whole is role dissensus. If the teachers in a building agree with each other and with the principal about what the most important parts of the teacher's job are, then when they talk to each other, their basic assumptions are shared. Teachers can make suggestions to each other in an atmosphere of supportiveness and mutual approval. The teacher is more likely to regard the principal as an ally and not as a critic. When teachers are divided among themselves about role expectations, or where a large number of the teachers differ from the principal, then the atmosphere in the building as a whole is apt to be characterized by uneasiness. Teachers will try to avoid others who have differing expectations from their own, and will resent or reject the principal's attempts to help them do a better job. Even those teachers who agree with the principal will find that the critical stance of the other teachers, with whom they interact often, affects their own attitudes.

---

*A technical definition: Role conflict is conflict created for the incumbent of a status when two or more members of his role set have conflicting expectations for his status. Potential role conflict is here defined as conflicting expectations, of whose existence the actor may or may not be aware. Potential role conflict was the label we applied to this type of situation in our original proposal, and in the early stages of our work. As our thinking and reading progressed, however, it became apparent that the term "role dissensus," as applied to this type of situation, would conform better with previous studies, and generally enable us to work with more conceptual clarity, and this is the usage that will be followed throughout the remainder of this report.

Role conflict has in the past most frequently come to mean conflict which the incumbent of a status perceives. That is, it has usually been measured by asking someone whether two types of role-partners have conflicting expectations. If he says this is so, then role conflict has been said to exist. In this study, by contrast, role partners have been asked about their own expectations. This kind of role conflict is being called role dissensus because there is no information on whether the incumbent perceives it or not. The assumption here is that even if the person does not perceive conflicting expectations, their presence will affect his behavior. (See, for example, Stanton and Schwartz, 23.) This is analogous to the assumption made about the consequences of intrapsychic conflict for behavior.

Until this point, dissensus between one teacher and other teachers (technically called intraposition dissensus), and between one teacher and her principal (technically called interposition dissensus), have been discussed together. Here it may be suggested that the consequences of one kind of role dissensus may be different from those of the other. In section II, we will see that this is, indeed, the case.

The purposes of this investigation can now be stated more precisely: 1. to examine the hypothesis that, for the individual, role dissensus is negatively related to satisfaction; 2. to examine the hypothesis that members of a group (or subsystem of a larger organization) characterized by high role dissensus will feel the group to be less satisfying than one characterized by low role dissensus; 3. to see whether the consequences of interposition (teacher-principal) role dissensus are different from those of intraposition (teacher-teacher) role dissensus.

Several previous reviews of the role literature, e.g., Biddle, (1), Rommetveit, (19), and especially Gross, (8), have illustrated in great detail the confusion about the concept of role and associated terminology. Merton in 1957 (18) and Gross in 1958 (8) contributed clarification with the concept of the role-set: each status has associated with it an array of roles, involving the incumbent of the "focal position" with several "counter-statuses" or "role senders," each of whom may have different normative expectations for his performance. Merton in particular discussed the distinction between the role-set and the status-set, the total array of statuses or positions occupied by a single person, implying a corresponding distinction between role conflict and status conflict.

A sampling of the empirical work concerning role conflict indicates that it falls into four major areas. One group of studies demonstrated the reasonable, but previously often ignored fact, that there are conflicting normative expectations for the incumbents of a single status. Stogdill, (25), Halpin, (11), Biddle, (1), and Washburne (28), showed the existence of significant amounts of conflict concerning the roles of air force superiors, school superintendents, and teachers, respectively. Gross (8) demonstrated the impact of social structural position on expectations of school board members and superintendents with regard to the superintendency role.

A related group of studies showed that position incumbents had inaccurate perceptions of the expectations of others, e.g., Jenkins & Lippitt (13) for teachers and parents, and Doyle (5) for teacher perception of parent, school board and administrator expectations.

A second group of studies answers the question: how will the actor decide between incompatible expectations? Stouffer (26) found that students were more likely to favor student than administrative norms when the situation involved a friend, and more likely to favor administrative expectations if they were likely to be detected in deviating from them. Gross (8) developed a predictive theory, based on perceived legitimacy of expectations, sanctions, and a personality attribute of the actor.

A third (relatively neglected) focus of empirical attention has been the relation between the existence of role dissensus (that is, the actual conflicting expectations of two or more role partners), and the felt, or perceived conflict of the actor. Seeman (22) independently identified situations of potential conflict and found that principals and superintendents felt conflicted about these situations.

Finally, a fourth area of empirical work has tried to determine the consequences of role conflict and role consensus. Getzels and Guba (6) found that when an incumbent said he was troubled about conflicting expectations for his position, others were less likely to judge him to be an effective teacher; and in a second study (7), that he was more likely to reject teaching as a career. Conformity to others' expectations is related to within-group consensus, according to both Hall (10) and Rosen (20). Jacobson, Charters and Lieberman (12) found that in the infrequent cases in which foremen and stewards agreed on reciprocal role obligations, they got along better according to self-reports.

Bidwell (2), Guba and Bidwell (9), and other studies cited by Charters (4), showed that perceived role consensus is positively related to satisfaction in school systems. Charters criticizes these works on the grounds that the findings might not hold up if "furnished by methodologically independent sources." The same objection applies to the work of Kahn et. al. (14).

The most extensive investigation of the consequences of perceived role conflict and actual role dissensus are those of Gross, Mason and McEachern (8). The findings were somewhat ambiguous with respect to consequences of role dissensus. On the one hand, they found no significant relation between board-superintendent dissensus and the superintendent's "job satisfaction." On the other, they found that within-board consensus *was* significantly related to the satisfaction of the board members. The authors' explanation of the disparity is based on the difference in size of the role sets of superintendents and of board members (the superintendent is more important to the board members' satisfaction than they are to his). This seems plausible; however, an alternative explanation might be that, since peer interaction occurs most frequently, intraposition role dissensus has a more marked association with job satisfaction than does interposition dissensus.

A contradictory finding of the Gross study is that *perceived* role conflict of the superintendent *is* related to his job satisfaction. The explanation for the disparity of this finding and the previous one may be that it is the superintendent who is here reporting both on the existence of conflicting expectations and on his satisfaction; objective data are lacking, and the superintendent's sense of conflicting expectations may be promoted by his lack of satisfaction.

A review of some of the *measures of "satisfaction"* shows that in general they have been simple and undifferentiated. Gross asked superintendents how satisfied they were with their jobs and their careers. Bidwell (2), and Guba and Bidwell (9) used 10- and 19-item indices of general satisfaction. In another case, Bidwell (3) used a more complex measure, a modification of a scale developed by Morse, in which the items were divided into six descriptive categories.

Lipset, Coleman and Trow (17) in their study of a printer's union, and Lazarsfeld and Thielens in *The Academic Mind* (16), among others, fruitfully used the method which they called *contextual analysis*. These studies pointed to the importance of taking the structure and climate of the *organization* in which the individual was embedded into account in any survey of individual behavior. For instance, Lipset found that a printer's interest and activity in union politics is affected by the *size* of the shop in which he works.

The organization has very seldom been taken as the unit of analysis in any study of role conflict. A rare exception is the work by

Bidwell, referred to above. Here, significant differences were found in perceived role conflict between seven buildings in the same school system, and it was shown that teachers in the high conflict buildings had lower satisfaction than teachers in the low conflict buildings. However, it was not clear whether this was simply the result of individual differences or was a contextual effect. Getzels and Guba (6) showed that rates of role conflict were different for different organizational units, but the consequences of this difference for the organization were not examined. Korpi (15) demonstrated that the consequences of individual deviant attitudes in the army varied with the norms of the platoon in which the individual soldiers were located.

The preceding discussion points to the significance of the three chief objectives of this investigation: (1) to analyze the contextual effects of role dissensus; (2) to advance the study of the consequences of role dissensus; (3) to employ a theoretically meaningful set of indicators of organization-relevant satisfaction in testing the hypotheses about consequences of role conflict.

1. The most unique contribution will be an attempt to characterize each school building as high or low in role dissensus. The satisfaction of individual teachers in buildings characterized by high and low dissensus will then be examined. It is hypothesized that in an organization which has high role dissensus, even those members who are not themselves in positions of dissensus will be less satisfied than the members of an organization characterized by low role dissensus.

2. A second piece of evidence will be added to the first confusing finding of Gross, namely, whether there is a more marked association between intraposition role dissensus and job satisfaction than interposition dissensus and satisfaction. Gross found that board members were more satisfied when they agreed with other board members, but that it made no difference to superintendents whether they agreed with their board members or not. As we will see in Section II, the present study confirms Gross' findings concerning the inverse relationship between intraposition dissensus and satisfaction. However, while Gross found that interposition dissensus made no difference to the satisfaction of superintendents, we will show that, for teachers, there is a curvilinear relationship between interposition dissensus and satisfaction. (We have not tested the relationship between interposition dissensus and satisfaction for principals.)

3. The dimensions of organization-relevant satisfaction will be considered in more detail by the proposed research than by any of the studies discussed. We have empirically identified three dimensions, which may be considered a tentative paradigm of satisfaction with a school system (and, with modifications, any organization): satisfaction with the instrumental side of organizational functioning (e.g., adequate

goals, problem solving, innovativeness); satisfaction with the affective side of the organization (e.g., feeling that trust, honesty and genuineness are among the dominant norms of the system); and satisfaction with the affective side of own school building (e.g. feeling that the principal is considerate, and that other teachers in the building are congenial.) These constitute the dependent variables of the study. This conceptual clarification makes it possible to find that role dissensus has differential consequences for different dimensions of satisfaction. In general, we will find that there is a stronger relationship between role dissensus and building-affective satisfaction than between role dissensus and the other two types of satisfaction.

C. Methods

The data on which the present research is based was collected as part of a larger study, on Organization Development in Schools, which was conducted at the Horace-Mann Lincoln Institute of Teachers College, with Matthew B. Miles as the project director. The primary aim of the larger study was to develop and evaluate methods for bringing about organizational change in school systems. Some findings of this study were reported in The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, vol. 3., no. 3, 1967, "The Clinical-Experimental Approach to Assessing Organizational Change Efforts," Barbara Benedict, et. al., and at the Aug., 1966 American Sociological Association convention, "Data Feedback and Organizational Change in a School System," Matthew B. Miles, et. al.

The data analyzed in the present research represent the responses of the members of one school system, located in a suburban city on the fringe of a large metropolitan area. At the time the data was collected, the city was experiencing population change, with the proportion of blacks in the total population increasing. There are 15 school buildings in the system, 9 elementary schools, 2 combined elementary-junior highs, 2 junior highs, one school for the ninth grade only, and one school for grades 10-12. The total personnel in the system is about 600; the size of individual buildings varies widely, with about 25 teachers in the smallest buildings, and about 135 in the high school.

A survey was made of respondents selected according to a proportionate stratified sampling design. Half of the teachers, and the principal, in each school building, were sampled. The response rate for teachers in the system as a whole is about 60%; thirteen of the principals, or 87% responded. As might be expected, there was a wide variation in response rate by building - from 25% in the building with the lowest rate to 70% in the buildings with the highest rates of response. The total number of teachers with usable responses is roughly 150; this is somewhat smaller than the response rate would suggest, since in order for a teacher's response to be "usable," her principal must also have responded.

The survey consisted of a mailed, self-administered set of nine, highly structured, research instruments: one measured "background" variables such as age, sex, socioeconomic status, and type of school where undergraduate training was received; a second required the teacher and principal to rank 20 requirements of the teacher's role in terms of priority (the comparison of the teacher's response with that of her own principal, and with the mean response for other teachers in her building, form the basis for our independent variable, role dissensus); the remaining seven required the respondent to describe the school building and/or the school system in terms of such variables as norms governing interpersonal behavior; the "climate" of the building and the system; the decision-making power of various ranks within the hierarchy of the system; the goals of the system; the ability of the system to cope with the environment (combinations of items appearing on these seven instruments - described in more detail below - comprise our dependent variables, three types of satisfaction).

The data analyzed here represent the fourth testing in the panel design of the larger study, and were collected in Spring, 1966.

Responses to the questionnaires were coded, and punched onto IBM cards, with a set of several cards for each individual respondent. The IBM cards, in turn, were recorded on computer tape. The 7094 computer has been utilized as the means by which the multivariate analysis of the data, reported in the following section, was carried out.

A more detailed description of the methodology of the formation of the indices of the independent and dependent variables will be presented in the following section. We turn, in it, from a careful description of our major variables, to a description of the system in terms of them, the relationships between them, and an explanation of these relationships through the introduction of specifying variables.

SECTION II - FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

A. The Dependent Variables

Three types of satisfaction--instrumental satisfaction with the system as a whole, affective satisfaction with the system, and affective satisfaction with the building--comprise the dependent variables of this analysis. This portion of the work will trace the development of these three types from the original a priori conceptualization through the empirical stages which led to the construction of the final indices. The distribution of each of the three types of satisfaction among teachers will be presented, and, for purposes of comparison, the satisfaction levels of principals as a group will also be shown. The intercorrelations between the three indices will be discussed. Finally, we will look at the satisfaction levels of the 15 school buildings.

Development of Typology

The A Priori Conceptualization.

An initial distinction, based on the work of Bales, was made between instrumental and affective satisfaction. Instrumental satisfaction was conceived as relating to the performance of the organization in meeting its goals, in solving problems confronting it, in responding to environmental pressure in innovative ways. Affective satisfaction was seen as relating to the emotional gratification of the members.

A second distinction was made between the member's satisfaction with his own job, and with the organization as a whole. It seemed reasonable to assume that a teacher might feel dissatisfied with his job, because of the peculiarities of his own classroom, or his own particular personality needs, and yet be satisfied that the system as a whole was performing in a satisfactory way.

A fourfold typology was constructed on the basis of these two distinctions: instrumental satisfaction with the system as a whole; affective satisfaction with the system as a whole; instrumental satisfaction with own job; affective satisfaction with own job.

Forty separate indicators (see Table A-I below) of satisfaction were divided into four groups on the basis of this conceptualization. Most of these were single items or combinations of items constructed by the present writer and other members of the staff of the larger project. Five were subscales of a questionnaire developed by Andrew Halpin and Don B. Croft, and described in their monograph, The Organizational Climate of Schools.

Empirical Clustering of Indicators.

Before proceeding with the main line of analysis, the indicators selected on the basis of the a priori thinking were subjected to two types of cluster analysis, to determine whether they were associated empirically as well. In other words, the question was raised, did respondents tend to answer the many items initially included in the instrumental index in the same way? Was a respondent who was judged to be highly satisfied on the basis of one of these items apt to be highly satisfied on the basis of the others as well?

The two types of analysis employed were the McQuitty analysis, a rough approximation of traditional factor analysis; and the Multi-dimensional Scaling (Medscal) technique, developed by Kruskal, a computer technique which depends on the rank-ordering of variables rather than the arithmetic differences between them. Both types of analysis start from a matrix of intercorrelations of each item with every other item. Principal reliance was placed on the multi-dimensional scaling technique, although the findings of the McQuitty technique were also taken into account.

Table A-I shows the complete list of 40 indicators of satisfaction which were selected on an a priori basis. Table A-II shows these items, plotted in two dimensions, according to the values for each dimension yielded by the Medscal technique. (Refer to table A-I to find the meaning of the numbers of items shown in Tables A-II to A-VI.) The eight items marked with checks (numbers 35, 37, 39, 17, 13, 38, 36 and 40) on the fringes of the graph, were judged to be not closely related to the others. An item-to-cluster analysis based on the McQuitty clusters showed the same eight items, and one additional one (#15, actual-desirable goals) to have unusually low correlations with other clusters. These items were removed, and a second multi-dimensional scaling analysis, on the basis of the remaining 31 variables, was done (Table A-III).

This scaling indicated that items had clustered on the basis of their format in the research questionnaires. The items on the bottom half of the graph had been worded in such a way that a high score was assigned to a "satisfied" response, such as "sensitive" or "Problems were always approached very adequately, thoroughly, systematically," while the items on top had been assigned a high score if the subject had rated the problem named as being "not very important." It was accordingly decided to proceed with two separate analyses, one for the items in the top half of Table A-III, and one for the items in the bottom half.

Table A-I LIST OF 40 INDICATORS OF SATISFACTION

1- Trustful.....mistrustful
2- Personal and close......impersonal and distant
3- Creative....not creative
4- Sensitive...insensitive
5- Genuine....phony
6- Facing problems....avoiding problems
7- Concerned....unconcerned
8- Honest....not honest
9- Shared decisions...decisions from above
10- Developing....not developing
11- Flexible...rigid
12- Competent....incompetent

(These first 12 items were rated on a scale from 1 to 7, with 7 representing the first-named word of the pair; in the original semantic differential instrument from which these items were drawn, however, the "good" phrase of the pair was moved from the left to the right-hand side of the page in an unsystematic fashion.)

13- Index of discrepancy between amount of power teacher responded that she should have and the amount of power she perceived herself as having, regarding four decisions: Planning and evaluating in-service workshops; Developing policies and procedures to acquaint new teachers with the system; Selecting textbooks and workbooks for the classroom; Deciding which teachers will teach classes at different ability levels.

14- Satisfaction with contact with principal (rated on a scale from 1-very satisfied to 5-very dissatisfied)

15- Index of discrepancy between goal teacher rated as most desirable for the system to pursue, and goal the system was actually pursuing, regarding four goals: Intellectual; social; personal development of students; practical.

16- Inadequate decision-making by administrative group
17- Lack of time to get at important aspects of one's job
18- Conflict and hostility between groups or individuals
19- Apprehension and mistrust in the system
20- Ineffective procedures in faculty meetings
21- Inadequate or outmoded curriculum
22- Lack of clarity about authority and responsibility
23- Arbitrary or too-rapid decisions from above
24- Ineffective classroom procedures
25- School system is rigid, stagnated, not innovative
26- Ineffective policies on classroom grouping of students
27- Insufficient recognition for work well done
28- Lack of clear objectives and goals
29- Inadequate numbers of staff to supply needed services
30- Ineffective working relationship between central office and principals

(Items 16-30 were worded on the original instrument from which they are drawn as they are here, with the words "Extremely important problem" placed above the ratings 1 and 2, "Moderately important problem" placed above 3, 4 and 5, and "Not important at all" placed above 6 and 7.)

31. Thinking of the way things have been going in this system this year, how would you describe the way problems like the ones you have just rated have generally been tackled? What was the problem-solving process like? (This was rated on a scale from 7- always adequately to 1- always inadequately.)
32. As you go about your work from day to day, do you feel you get adequate information in advance about changes which will affect you or your work? (This was rated on a scale from 7- completely adequate information to 1- inadequate information.)
33. To what extent do you feel that the requirements of your job and your own personal wishes and needs coincide?
34. Looking at this school system in general, how would you say it reacts to new educational ideas - innovations in curriculum, methods, rules, ways of organizing, equipment, or any other aspect of work in the system? (This was rated from 7- highly innovative to 1- not innovative at all.)
35. Esprit
    - The morale of the teachers is high
    - The teachers accomplish their work with great vim, vigor, and pleasure
    - Teachers at this school show much school spirit
    - Custodial service is available when needed
    - Most of the teachers here accept the faults of their colleagues
    - School supplies are readily available for use in classwork
    - There is considerable laughter when teachers gather informally
    - In faculty meetings, there is the feeling of let's get things done
    - Extra books are available for classroom use
    - Teachers spend time after school with students who have individual problems
36. Intimacy
    - Teachers' closest friends are other faculty members at the school
    - Teachers invite other faculty members to visit them at home
    - Teachers know the family background of other faculty members
    - Teachers talk about their personal life to other faculty members
    - Teachers have fun socializing together during school time
    - Teachers work together preparing administrative reports
    - Teachers prepare administrative reports by themselves
37. Production Emphasis
    - The principal makes all class scheduling decisions
    - The principal schedules the work for the teachers
    - The principal checks the subject matter ability of teachers
    - The principal corrects teachers' mistakes.
    - The principal insures that teachers work to their full capacity
    - Extra duty for teachers is posted conspicuously
    - The principal talks a great deal
38. Consideration
    - The principal helps teachers solve personal problems
    - The principal does personal favors for teachers
    - The principal stays after school to help teachers finish their work
    - The principal helps staff members settle minor differences

Teachers help select which courses will be taught
The principal tries to get better salaries for teachers

39. Hindrance
Routine duties interfere with the job of teaching
Teachers have too many committee requirements
Student progress reports require too much work.
Administrative paper work is burdensome at this school.
Sufficient time is given to prepare administrative reports
Instructions for the operation of teaching aids are available

(Items 35-39 were drawn from the Organization Climate Description Questionnaire, described in The Organizational Climate of Schools, Andrew W. Halpin and Don B. Croft, Midwest Administration Center, the University of Chicago, 1963. The items were rated from 1- Rarely occurs to 4- Very frequently occurs.)

40. Teacher's perciption of the discrepancy between own goals for the system and those of her principal. (This was rated on a scale from 1 to 20.)

Table A-II
Multi-dimensional scaling with 40 indicators

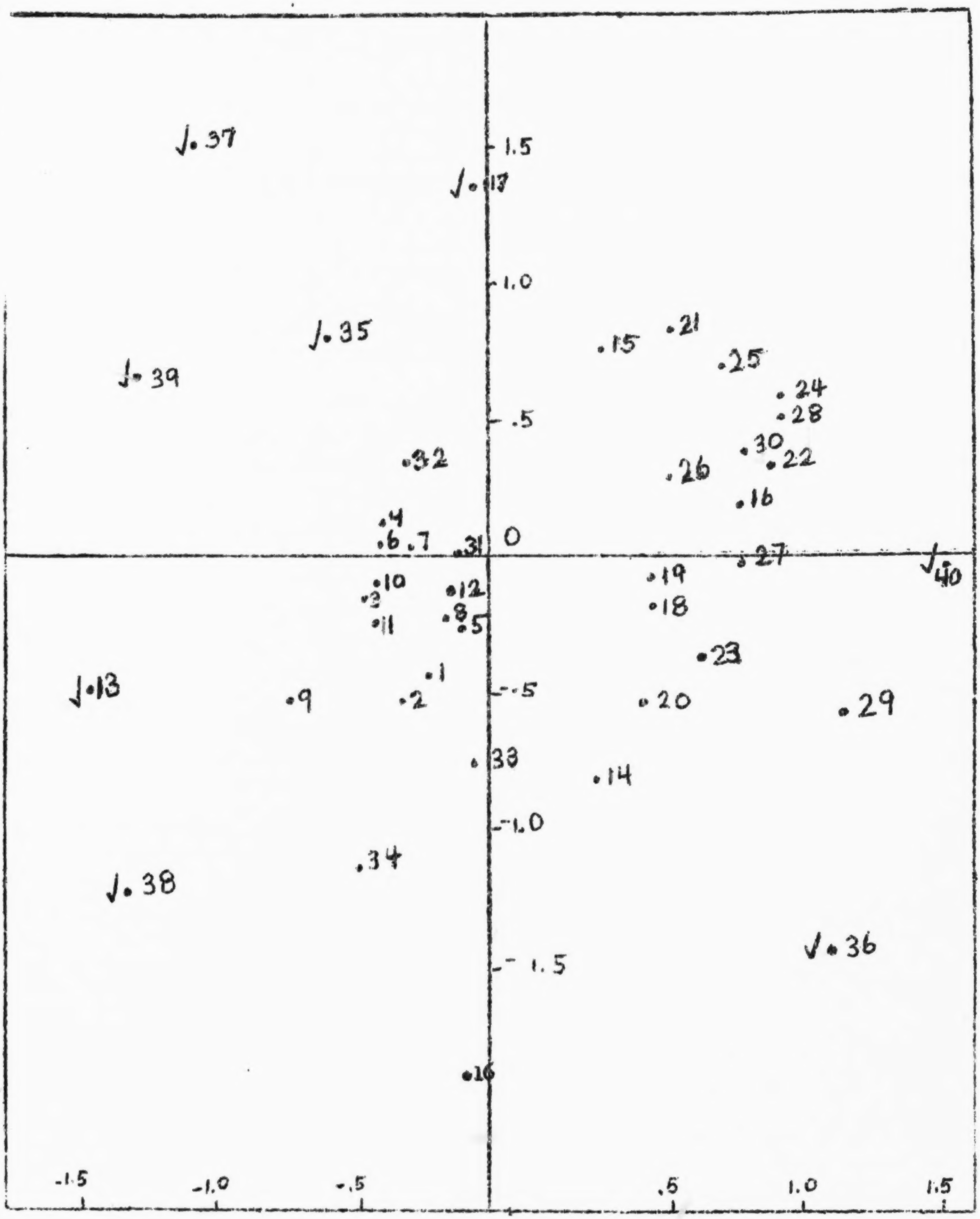

Table A-III
Multi-dimensional scaling with 31 indicators

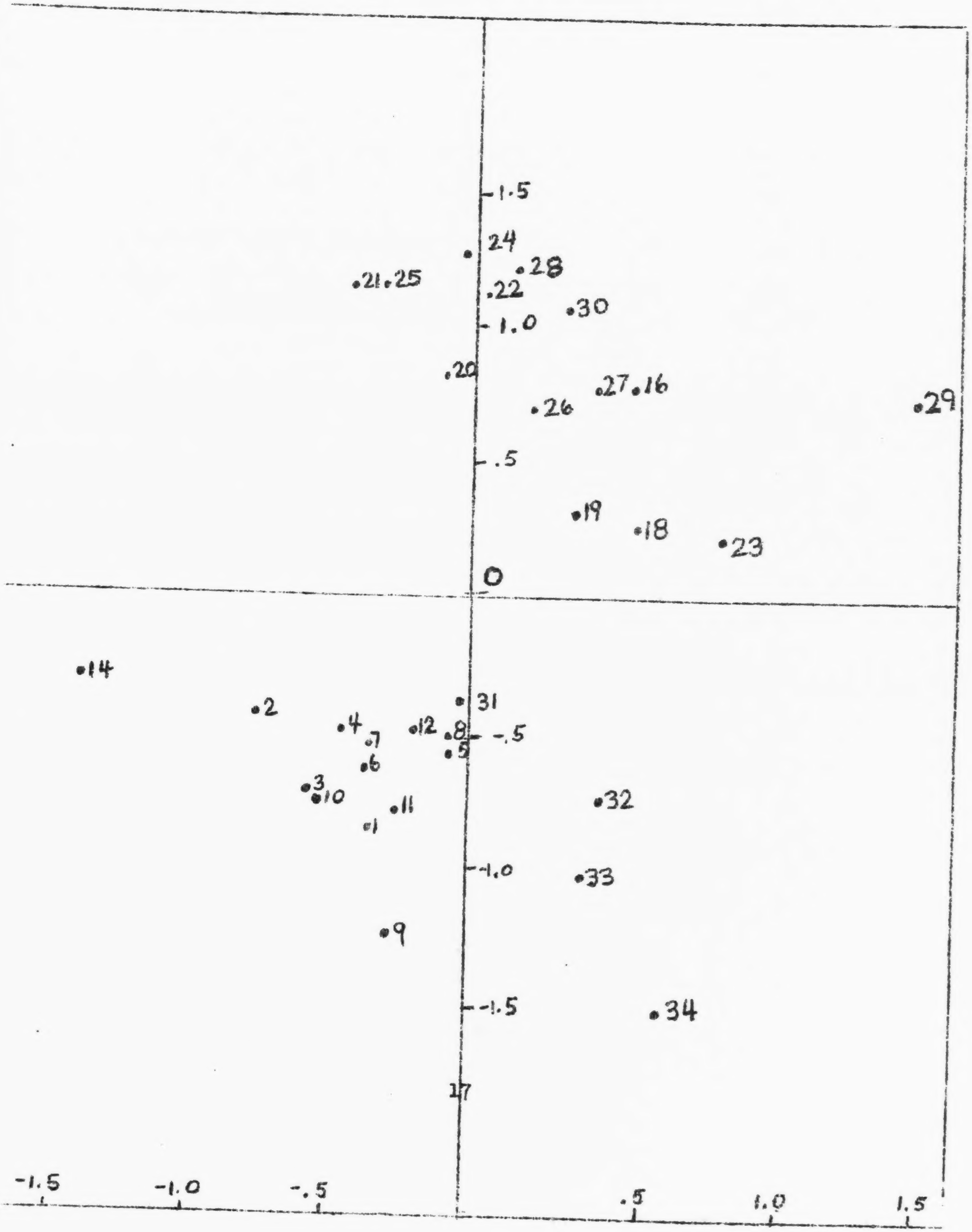

Table A-IV
Multi-dimensional scaling with 17 positively-worded indicators

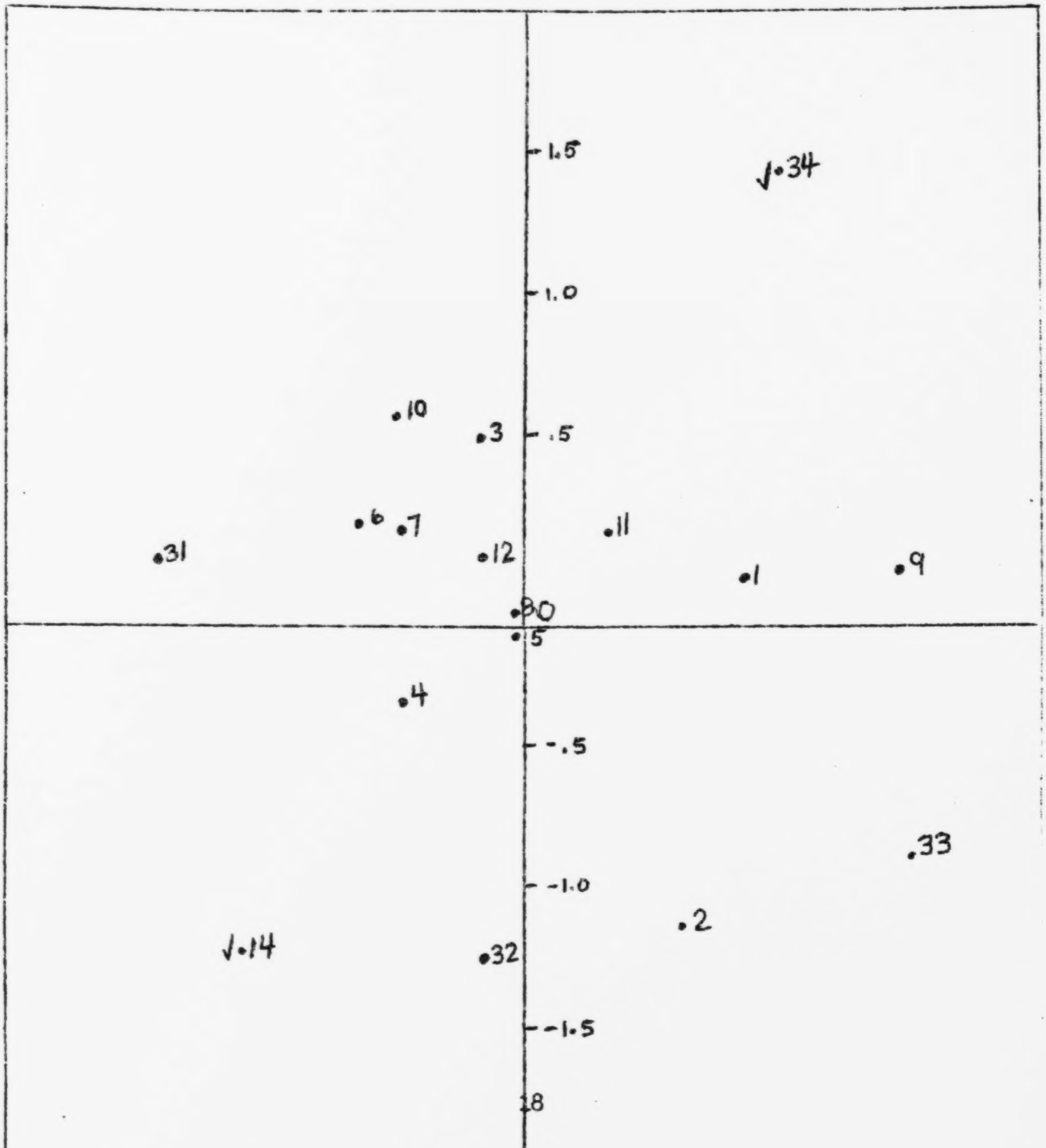

Table A-V
Multi-dimensional scaling with 15 positively-worded indicators

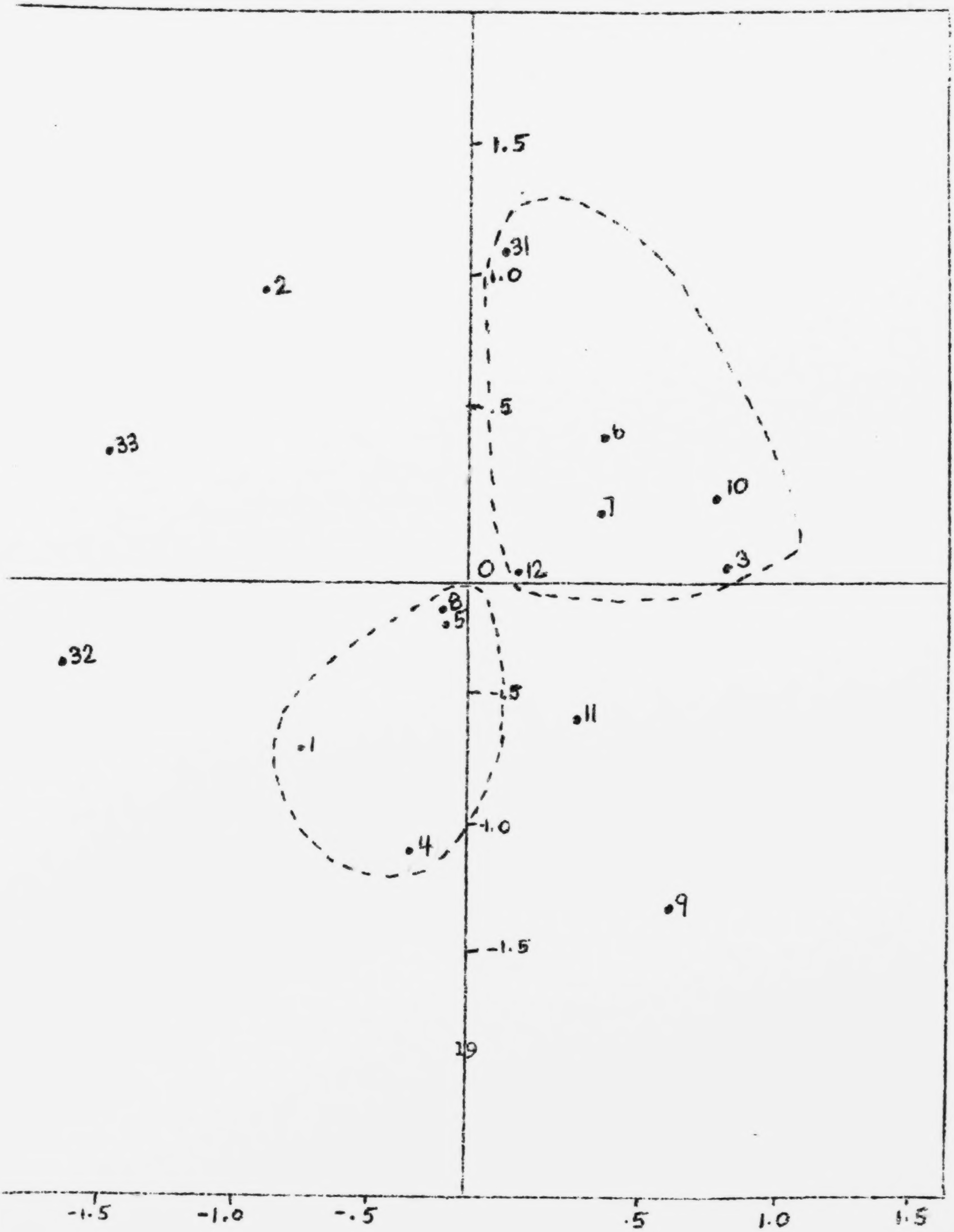

Table A-VI
Multi-dimensional scaling for 14 neutrally-worded indicators

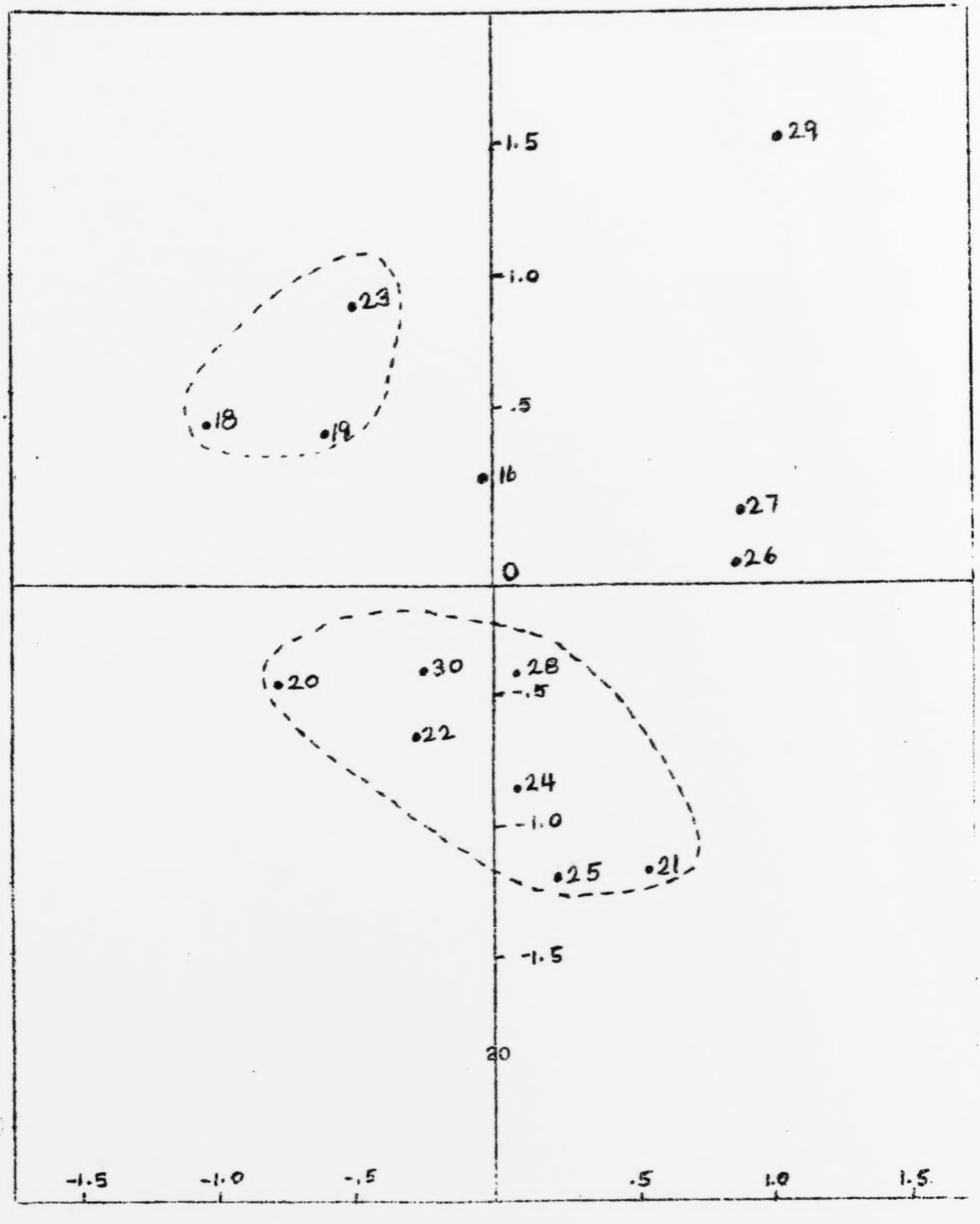

Table A-IV shows the clustering of the satisfaction indicators that were grouped in the bottom half of Table A-III. Two more items (numbers 14 and 34) were removed on the basis of this scaling. Table A-V shows a new scaling for the items which had been grouped in the bottom half of Table A-III; with the exception of the two variables shown by Table A-IV to be unrelated. The items have clustered into an instrumental group, in the top right quarter of the graph, an affective group, in the bottom left quarter of the graph, and five unrelated items. In Table A-VI, drawn from items which had appeared in the top half of Table A-III, we again see a group of (three) affective, (six) instrumental, and (four) unrelated variables.

The decision was then made to combine the two affective and the two instrumental clusters of Tables A-V and A-VI into two scales for affective satisfaction with system, and instrumental satisfaction with system. This decision was based on the meaning of the items, the fact that the difference in format could plausibly account for the lack of expected clustering, and on the values of the tau-beta correlation coefficients, which were .40 for the correlation of the two affective scales, and .33 for the correlation of the two instrumental scales.

In making a final comparison between the results of the McQuitty and Medscal analyses, it was observed that three of four items combined by the McQuitty technique were also joined by the original 40-item Medscal analysis (numbers 35, 37, and 39, in the upper left quarter of Table IV-1). (The fourth item, #14, was not joined by Medscal, but was by McQuitty.) We relied here on the McQuitty analysis and combined these four items to form our final satisfaction type, affective satisfaction with building. Three of these items, all subscales of the Halpin-Croft instrument, relate to the teacher's satisfaction with the affective side of her own school building--that is, her satisfaction with associating with other teachers in her building, and her satisfaction with the consideration which her principal shows her. The fourth item asked simply how satisfied the respondent was with principals in the system (we assumed that teachers answered on the basis of satisfaction with their own principal).

The similarity of the clusterings yielded by the two techniques gives us some assurance that we are dealing with satisfaction areas that the teacher herself perceives; and we have proceeded with our work relying on the 3 indices described above as our indicators of satisfaction.

To review the bearing of our empirical work on our a priori conceptualization, the a priori conceptual distinction between instrumental and affective satisfaction was supported by empirical analysis. However, many items included in each a priori scale were shown to be not closely related to the others by the two cluster techniques. In one or two cases, items originally thought of as being instrumental were seen to relate more closely to the affective items, or vice versa. Concerned---Unconcerned, for instance, was included in the original affective scale. Both cluster analyses showed concerned to be most closely related to competent and facing problems, indicating that teachers interpreted this item as "concerned with work" rather than "concerned with other people," as we had originally supposed.

The distinction between satisfaction with the organization, and with own job, was not supported empirically. Rather, the data suggested a separation between satisfaction with the organization (the school system), as a whole, and satisfaction with own school building.

Our analysis will proceed, then, with three indices, representing three different types of satisfaction: instrumental satisfaction with the system or system-instrumental satisfaction; affective satisfaction with the system, or system-affective satisfaction; and satisfaction with own school building, or building-affective satisfaction.

How Much Satisfaction?

Taking the three indices described above as our measures, we will describe the amount of satisfaction of teachers with the instrumental and affective sides of the system as a whole, and with the affective side of their own school building. There will be a comparison between the three indices, so as to be able to say whether teachers are more satisfied with one aspect of the system than another. The satisfaction of teachers as a group will be compared with principals and assistant principals as a group. Finally, we will compare the different amounts of satisfaction in the 15 school buildings, taken as units. These latter scores have been formed by aggregating the scores of all teachers in the building.

Since respondents themselves assigned a numerical value to each of their responses, it has been possible to obtain a mean score for each respondent, for every index. We have not, however, compared scores as if they represented an interval scale. Rather, in our tests of significance, we have employed either a tau-beta correlation coefficient, which is based on ordinal ranking, or the chi square statistic, which is based on nominal categories.

Since the number of items in each index varies, and especially since the scoring system was not the same for all three indices, mean scores cannot be used as a basis for comparison between the three types of satisfaction. We have, therefore, divided each index into equal thirds on the basis of the entire range of possible values for the index. For instance, the affective index, with 7 items each rated on a 1-7 scale, has a range of possible scores of 7-49. Scores from 7-20 are considered low, 21-34 medium, and 35-49 high, satisfaction. This procedure makes comparison between the indices possible.

It is, of course, possible to make comparisons within an index on the basis of mean scores. At some points below we shall want to present mean satisfaction scores for different values of many independent variables. Accordingly, we will present mean scores here as an orienting device; and also in order to be able to compare the satisfaction on one index at a time, of teachers and principals, and of buildings.

Presentation of Basic Information About Satisfaction

About a third of the teachers are highly satisfied with the affective side of their school system, and a slightly larger percentage, 41%, is highly satisfied with the instrumental side, as shown in Table A-VII. About half of the teachers fall into the medium satisfaction range on both indices.

TABLE A-VII

TEACHER INSTRUMENTAL, AFFECTIVE, AND BUILDING-AFFECTIVE SATISFACTION

	Instrumental	Affective	Building-Affective
Low	12%	14	13
Medium	46	54	78
High	41	33	9
(N)	(169)	(169)	(150)
$\bar{x}$ =	58.3	30.3	55.5

Our teachers are roughly as satisfied on these dimensions as are teachers in at least one other school system. In Washington, D.C., when teachers were asked simply how satisfied they were with their present job all things considered, a third said they were very satisfied, and half said they were fairly satisfied, Wilder and Hopson (29). Table A-VIII reproduces these findings.

TABLE A-VIII

TEACHER SATISFACTION IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

	Elementary	Junior High	Senior High
Not very satisfied, and not satisfied	15%	16	11
Fairly satisfied	51	53	53
Very satisfied	33	30	34
(N)	(741)	(644)	(821)

Teachers in our system appear to be much less satisfied with their own buildings than they are with the system as a whole. Comparable figures are not available for the Washington study. Only 9% are highly satisfied, while 78% have medium satisfaction.

We expected that principals and assistant principals, enjoying positions of greater authority and higher prestige within the system, would be more satisfied with it. This hypothesis was confirmed as far as satisfaction with own building goes. Table A-IX shows that 44% of the principals are highly satisfied with their own buildings, compared to only 9% of the teachers. However, principals are less satisfied with the system as a whole than their teachers are. Perhaps they identify more closely with their own building than they do with the larger system.

TABLE A-IX

INSTRUMENTAL, AFFECTIVE, AND BUILDING-AFFECTIVE SATISFACTION OF TEACHERS AND PRINCIPALS

	Instrumental Satisfaction		Affective Satisfaction		Building-Affective Satisfaction	
Per cent	Teachers	Principals	Teachers	Principals	Teachers	Principals
Low	12	13	14	19	13	6
Medium	46	56	54	56	78	50
High	41	31	53	25	9	44
Mean	58.3	57.1	30.3	28.3	55.5	65.5
(N)	(169)	(16)	(169)	(16)	(150)	(16)

Intercorrelations of Indices

When we look at the coefficients of correlation of each index with each of the other two, we find that the two system-level indices, the system-instrumental and the system-affective, are most closely related: the tau-beta value for association between them is .551. We would expect that the system-affective and building-affective indices would be more closely related to each other than the system-instrumental and the building-affective indices. This is not the case, however: the tau-beta value for the system-affective and building-affective association is .255, while the measure of association of system-instrumental and building-affective satisfactions is .325.

(Subsequent analyses will show that the system-affective index is less apt to reveal differences between groups than either the system-instrumental index or the building-affective index. Perhaps then the number of items included in the system-affective index (7) is fewer than required to make a good measure. The relatively low correlation between the system-affective and building-affective indices may be due more to inadequacies in the system-affective scale than to differences in content of the two scales.)

Satisfaction Level by School Building

Here we turn to the school building as a contextual variable which might be expected to bear on the satisfaction of individual teachers. If the particular building in which a teacher works were not related to her satisfaction, we would expect that teachers with varying amounts of satisfaction would be distributed randomly throughout the buildings of the system. When we aggregated the satisfaction scores of all teachers in each building, and then compared the 15 building scores so obtained, we would expect each building to have roughly the same total score. If, on the other hand, the individual teacher's satisfaction were associated with, or determined by, some aspect (be it size, principal's hair color, or student social class) of the school building in which she works, we would expect the different school buildings to have markedly different amounts of satisfaction. The latter is the case which we do, in fact, find.

When we dichotomize teachers' scores on each of the three satisfaction indices, and then compare school buildings in terms of the percentage of their teachers who have high satisfaction, Table A-X shows that there is very wide range of variation. For example, the range of teachers who have high instrumental satisfaction varies from 20% to 100% of teachers in the building. The chi square statistic, which measures the likelihood that a given observed distribution would have occurred by chance, taking number of cases into account, is

TABLE A-X

Percent High, Instrumental, Affective, and Building-Affective Satisfaction, by School Building

	School Building														
	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	Annex	HS
Percent high, instrumental satisfaction(n)[1]	41.7 (12)	0 (3)	20.0 (5)	14.3 (7)	37.5 (8)	43.7 (16)	25.0 (4)	18.7 (16)	42.9 (7)	83.3 (6)	30.8 (13)	100. (4)	42.9 (7)	70.6 (17)	61.4 (44)
Percent high, system-affective satisfaction (n)[2]	41.7 (12)	33.3 (3)	60.0 (5)	14.3 (7)	25.0 (8)	43.7 (16)	0 (4)	31.2 (16)	57.1 (7)	100. (6)	38.5 (13)	50.0 (4)	57.1 (7)	58.8 (17)	63.6 (44)
Percent high, building-affective satisfaction (n)[3]	41.5 (12)	33.3 (3)	100. (4)	20.0 (5)	42.8 (7)	50.0 (14)	66.6 (3)	40.0 (15)	100. (5)	100. (5)	20.0 (10)	75.0 (4)	85.7 (7)	68.7 (16)	72.5 (40)

[1] The Chi square value is 30.147, significant at the .01 level.

[2] The Chi square value is 23.672, significant at the .05 level.

[3] The Chi square value is 31.317, significant at the .01 level.

appropriate to test the differences between buildings here. We find that for both instrumental and building-affective satisfaction, there is only one chance in 100 that the observed distribution could have occurred by chance, while for system-affective satisfaction, there are 5 chances in 100 that the distribution could have occurred by chance. Thus, although the number of responding teachers in a building is small in some cases--it ranges from 3 to 44--we feel confident in saying that there is some characteristic or combination of characteristics, of the school buildings as units, which is associated with the satisfaction of individual teachers.

B. The Independent Variables: Intraposition and Interposition Role Dissensus

Two types of role dissensus, interposition, or teacher-principal dissensus, and intraposition, or teacher-teacher dissensus, will be discussed here. First, we will briefly cover the considerations that guided us in developing the items which comprise our dissensus indices. Then we will present the total body of 20 items concerning the teacher's role, and show how teachers, and principals, as groups, responded to them.

The following sections will describe our basis for choosing the 11 items which were combined to form our total dissensus scores, and will present the distribution of teacher-principal, and teacher-teacher dissensus scores for individual teachers in the system. Then we will present the same material for the separate school buildings. The correlation between the two indices will be presented. Finally, we will analyze the responses to the role expectation items by dissensus groups. In following this discussion, it is well to bear in mind that our primary interest is in the relationships between dissensus and satisfaction, and between dissensus and possible determinants of dissensus, rather than in dissensus for its own sake.

1. Guiding Considerations

In Chapter 2 we discussed the fact that, in most previous studies of role conflict, the criticism of a possible contamination between independent and dependent variables had often been raised. This defect was occasioned by the procedure of asking the same respondent both how much conflict he experienced (perceived conflict), and, how satisfied he felt. We were determined to avoid this pitfall, and accordingly, followed a more objective procedure. Teachers and principals independently answered the same questions, and our dissensus scores are based on the actual disagreement between them. We have been handicapped by an excess of virtue, however: we neglected to ask teachers how much conflict they perceived or experienced. For this reason, we consider that we are dealing with role dissensus, or differences in defining role expectations, rather than role conflict, disagreements in defining role obligations which are known to the participants.

A further aspect of the format of our items should be mentioned here. That is the placing of the items in sets of five items each, and the "forced choice" format which requires a respondent to assign a given rank to only one item within each set. In other words, if we look at the items in set A below, if a respondent wished to assign the rank of "1" to the item "Discussing ways of improving own teaching with a supervisor," he would be constrained to assign the rank of "2" to "Correcting and grading papers," even though he might in general regard both items as extremely important requirements of the teacher's role.

(In terms of Gross' distinction between expectations concerning the *direction* of role expectations prescribed, optional, or proscribed and the *intensity* of expectations how much they are required or prohibited these questions clearly are concerned with the intensity dimension.) This format would present some problems if our main focus of interest were the exploration of role dissensus in itself. Since our main concern is with the relationship of dissensus to other variables, we will limit ourselves to the rough comparison between items which can be made given the format we have adopted.

2. The Role Items

Table B-I shows the list of 20 role expectations presented to respondents, and the percentages of teachers and principals who assigned each of the priorities 1 through 5 to each expectation. We see that the single expectation on which there is most agreement among the teachers themselves is the first in set B, "Explaining a new idea to students," which is ranked first in the set by 78% of the teachers. The other three first-ranking items also concern activities which are pivotal attributes of the teacher's role.[1] "Listening to a student report," ranked "1" by 44%, is of course an essential part of classroom role performance while "Discussing ways of improving one's own teaching with a supervisor," ranked "1" by 61%, and "Designing lesson plans," ranked "1" by 53%, are both expectations about activities without which, presumably, the teacher-student role relationship could not long continue. It is interesting in passing to note that teachers seem to feel that it is more important for them to actively impart information (in explaining a new idea to students), than to *listen* to students' reports of their own work. This observation must be made with some caution, because each of these two items is ranked first only relative to the other items in the set.

Of the four second-ranking items, one, "Correcting and grading papers" (ranked first or second by 52% of the teachers) might be considered a pivotal attribute; or, if not, surely a relevant attribute, as are "Extra reading for classroom work (ranked first or second by 59%), "Resolving conflict between 2 students" (ranked first or

---

[1] We refer here to Nadel's distinction between pivotal, relevant and peripheral attributes of a role. He defines pivotal attributes as those whose absence or variation changes the whole identity of the role and the interaction it would normally provoke. The pivotal attribute is expected to entail the rest of the series. The absence of relevant attributes makes the role performance imperfect or incomplete; while the absence of peripheral attributes does not affect the effectiveness of the role being performed. (18)

TABLE B-I

Teachers' and Principals' Priority Rankings of 20 Role Expectations for Teachers (Percentages)

	Teachers (n=150)					Principals (n=13)				
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
Set A										
1.Correcting and grading papers	24	28	22	16	0	15	23	30	15	15
2.Discussing ways of improving one's own teaching with a supervisor	61	22	11	4	3	62	30	8	0	0
3.Attending an in-service training activity	11	34	33	17	5	15	46	30	8	0
4.Attending the local PTA meeting	-	3	8	24	64	0	0	8	30	62
5.Working on a committee chaired by the principal	3	13	26	39	18	8	0	23	46	23
Set B										
1.Explaining a new idea to students	78	16	3	4	0	69	23	0	8	0
2.Designing a bulletin board with other teachers	-	3	13	25	58	0	8	8	15	69
3.Extra reading for classroom work	10	49	27	9	5	0	38	38	15	8
4.Discussing a good student with his parents	3	9	17	46	25	8	23	30	23	15
5.Advising the principal about needed resource materials	8	23	40	16	12	23	8	23	38	8
Set C										
1.Listening to a student report	44	21	17	12	8	38	23	15	15	8
2.Planning an individual project for school assemblies	3	14	14	30	39	0	15	46	15	23
3.Serving on a district-wide curriculum committee	21	18	18	24	19	0	23	23	54	0
4.Meeting parents during open-house	16	19	25	19	21	8	8	8	8	69
5.Discussing classroom work with the principal	17	28	26	16	13	54	30	8	8	0

TABLE B-I (cont.)

	Teachers (n=150)					Principals (n=13)				
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
Set D										
1.Designing lesson plans	53	18	9	8	12	62	23	15	0	0
2.Resolving conflict between two students	28	28	18	18	8	30	8	23	30	8
3.Participating in a teacher-superintendent council	5	13	24	19	39	0	8	23	15	54
4.Consulting with the specialist in a particular subject	8	27	27	29	9	0	46	30	15	8
5.Asking the principal's help with a problem student	6	15	22	26	32	8	15	8	38	30

second by 56%), and "Discussing classroom work with the principal" (ranked first or second by 45%). (In fact, few, if any, of these 20 items could be considered peripheral to the teacher's role--"Designing a bulletin board with other teachers" and "Planning an individual project for school assemblies" are the two most likely candidates.) We note these second-ranking items chiefly to delineate the role expectations granted highest priority by the teachers we are studying.

The priorities assigned to expectations concerning the teacher-parent role relationship rank lower than we might expect (although we must bear in mind that these items are "competing" with other pressing obligations). 64% of the teachers rank "Attending the local PTA meeting" last, while 46% give the rank of four to "Discussing a good student with his parents."

Turning to the marginal comparisons between teachers' and principals' expectations for the teacher's role, we see that in sets A, B and D about the same percentages of principals as teachers rank the same items first. An interesting reversal occurs in set C, where the principal sees an obligation to himself as being much more important than teachers see that obligation. 54%, or 7 of the 13, principals think "Discussing classroom work with the principal" is of first priority in set C, while only 17% of the teachers give the same priority to this role requirement.

This discrepancy is of special interest because two previous studies of role relationships have shown that role-partners disagree more about their obligations to each other than they do about obligations to other members of their role sets. Speier hypothesized that this was the explanation for certain findings of *The American Soldier*, see Lazarsfeld and Merton (26a), and Gross (8) also found that school superintendents and school board members had least consensus on expectations concerning their own role relationship. With this finding in mind, we turn to the three other items that concern the teacher-principal role relationship directly. There is some dissensus about "Advising the principal about resource materials." One-quarter of the principals rate this as the most important teacher role expectation in the set, and 40% rate it fourth. On the other hand, only 8% of the teachers rate it first, 40% rate it third, and only 16% rate it fourth. Principals seem to see this as either more or less important than teachers do. The other two teacher-principal items, "Working on a committee chaired by the principal," and "Asking principal's help with a problem student," elicit high consensus between teachers and principals. Thus, insofar as our data are comparable with those of Stouffer and Gross, they provide only partial confirmation of the findings reported above.

"Planning an individual project for school assemblies," a role expectation which, as suggested above, has a very low direct relevance to the teacher's own classroom, but occupies a place of relatively high importance to the school building as a whole, is ranked first, second or third by only 31% of the teachers, while, by contrast, 61% of the principals give it those ranks.

A puzzling discrepancy turns up in two of the three items concerning parent-teacher relations. Only 39% of the teachers, compared to 64% of the principals, give a priority of one, two or three to the item: "Discussing a good student with his parents." But the situation is reversed for "Meeting parents during open house," which 59% of the teachers, and 16% of the principals rank 1, 2, or 3. Perhaps teachers prefer to be able to see the parents of many of their students all at once, while the principal favors individual consultation with parents. Because of the uncertainties surrounding the competing items in these two sets, however, it would be unwise to place too much importance on this difference. Concerning the third parent-teacher item, "Attending the local PTA meeting," principals and teachers are in very close agreement in assigning lowest priority in the set to this expectation.

When we make the fine comparison between the expectations of the teacher and *her own* principal on the 11 expectations included in the index (see below), the results are similar to those just discussed. There is most dissensus on "Advising the principal about needed resource materials," "Discussing a good student with his parents," and "Planning a project for school assemblies" (only 15%, 19% and 20% of the teachers have perfect agreement with their principals on these items). There is most agreement about "Explaining a new idea to students," "Attending the local PTA meeting," "Designing a bulletin board with other teachers," and "Discussing ways of improving own teaching with a supervisor" (65%, 63%, 56% and 47% of the teachers have perfect agreement with the principal on these items). The remaining four items yield a moderate amount of dissensus, with 28% to 38% of the teachers being in perfect agreement with their principals.

In summary, we have found, as we would expect, that teachers give highest priority to the pivotal attributes of their role. Further, they give relatively low priority to their obligations to parents. Principals generally agree with teachers about obligations of most importance (within the limits of the questions asked here), although in one case principals expected the teacher to give a higher priority to working with the principal than teachers themselves expect. In a second case principals assigned higher or lower priority to working with themselves than teachers did; and discrepancies were also noted in the area of teacher-parent relations, and teacher responsibilities to the school assembly.

3. Forming the Indices and Scores for Individual Teachers

In attempting to determine which of the 20 items should be used to form the over-all indices of interposition and intraposition dissensus, we were prevented from using a technique of cluster analysis, such as was used in forming the satisfaction indices, by the fact that responses of two separate groups were involved. If teachers' responses had tended to cluster in one way, and principals' in another, then the result of an analysis performed on the basis of the differences between them might obscure any existing relationships. On the other hand, cluster analysis based on the priority ranking marginals discussed above would be difficult to execute because of the constraints of the forced choice format.

It was therefore decided to follow a procedure which would yield some assurance that the role elements included were ones about which teachers talked to each other. The mean score for teachers in each school building separately, on each item, was examined, and the rank assigned to the item by the school building was obtained by comparing the mean score of all 5 items in the set. Then the rankings granted to an item by each of the 13 buildings for which sufficient data existed were compared. Only items which received the same or adjacent rankings by all buildings were included. For example, item A1, which was ranked second by most buildings, was ranked third by several, and fourth by one, and was therefore excluded; item B5 was ranked third by most buildings, second by two, and fourth by one, and was included. In this manner, the decision was made to include items A2 through C2. By following this procedure, some of the items about which there was most dissensus were excluded.

Now that the method for selecting items for inclusion in the indices has been described, we turn to the exact procedure we followed for obtaining a dissensus score for each individual and school building.

To obtain the interposition, or teacher-principal dissensus score, the teacher's ranking on each item included in the index was compared to her own principal's ranking of the same item. For instance, if a teacher ranked "Discussing classroom work with the principal" second, and her principal ranked the same item third, the teacher would receive a dissensus score of "1" for that item.

The discrepancies between teacher's score and own principal's score for all eleven items included in the index were summed to form the teacher's total interposition dissensus score. Since the minimum possible discrepancy for each item is), and the maximum is four, the range of total dissensus scores for each teacher is potentially 00-44. The actual range of scores is 01-26. About a third of the teachers have scores from 1-9, another third score 10-13, and the final third score from 14-26. The distribution of scores on the teacher-principal index is, then, weighted in the direction of consensus.

In order to obtain the intraposition, or teacher-teacher dissensus score, the teacher's ranking on each of the same 11 items included in the index was compared to the mean ranking for teachers in her school building. For instance, if a teacher ranked"Discussing classroom work with the principal" second, and the mean rank of teachers in her building for that item were 2.5, the teacher would receive a dissensus score of .5 for that item. The discrepancies on all 11 items were summed to form the teacher's total intraposition dissensus score.

Again, the potential range is from 00-44, but since the mean for teachers in the building is much more likely to be a decimal than a whole number, precise comparison between the amounts of the two types of dissensus is not sensible. However, there appears to be more consensus within the teacher group than between teachers and principals, as would be expected. The actual range of intraposition scores is from 3.0 to 19.9.

4. Forming the Indices, and Scores, for School Buildings

In forming the index for intraposition dissensus for the school building, we simply obtained the variance, unbiased for size, of the responses of the teachers in the school building for each item, and then summed the variances and divided by 11 to produce a combined building-dissensus score.

We were confronted with two alternatives, described well by Gross (8) (esp. pp. 169-70), in composing our interposition dissensus score for the separate school buildings. One possibility is to compare the mean for teachers in the building with the response of the principal. This has the advantage of excluding teacher variance from the consideration of teacher-principal dissensus; a disadvantage is that the mean may not accurately represent the response of any single teacher. This comparison is labelled "M" by Gross. The alternative, which Gross labels "D," is to consider the variance of the teachers' responses around the principal's response. This approach includes both the variance within the teacher group, and the difference between every teacher and the principal. We formed scores for the 13 buildings for which we had sufficient data (i.e., at least 4 teachers and the principal responded), on the basis of both methods. The rank ordering of the 13 buildings is the same, with the one exception of two buildings with adjacent rankings, according to both methods! We have arbitrarily decided to follow the ranking afforded by the variance of the teachers' responses around the principal's response.

Table B-II shows the score and rank for each building, for both the interposition and intraposition dissensus indices.

TABLE B-II

INTRAPOSITION DISSENSUS SCORE AND RANK FOR 13 SCHOOL BUILDINGS
(Buildings Ranked from Low to High Dissensus)

Building	(N)	Rank	Score
12	(4)	1	.47
13	(7)	2	.58
3	(4)	3	.73
5	(7)	4	.81
HS	(44)	5	.84
10	(6)	6	.87
9	(7)	7	.88
11	(12)	8	.89
4	(6)	9	.94
An	(17)	10	.99
8	(19)	11	1.01
6	(15)	12	1.27
1	(12)	13	1.35

INTERPOSITION DISSENSUS SCORE AND RANK FOR 14 SCHOOL BUILDINGS

Building	(N)	Rank	Score
11	(12)	1	.68
12	(4)	2	.72
HS	(44)	3	.81
10	(6)	4	.86
8	(9)	5	.89
An	(17)	6	.94
9	(7)	7	1.10

TABLE B-II (cont.)

Building	(N)	Rank	Score
1	(12)	8	1.14
6	(15)	9	1.15
2	(4)	10.5	1.19
4	(5)	10.5	1.19
3	(4)	12	1.25
13	(7)	13	1.31
5	(7)	14	1.41

In this form, it is hard to say whether there is "not very much" or "a great deal" of difference between the buildings in the amounts of the two kinds of dissensus that characterize them. When we trichotomized individual scores of all teachers in a building on each of the two indices, and then characterized buildings by the number of teachers who had low, medium, and high scores, we found that the observed distribution was significant between the .05 and .10 level for both indices. (In other words, using the conventional sociological standard of significance, we reject the hypothesis that individ al school building is associated with interposition or intraposition dissensus.)

However, when we grouped the buildings according to their level--that is, elementary buildings, elementary-junior high, junior high only, annex and high school--we found that the chi square value for the relation between intraposition dissensus and this building grouping was significant between the .01 and the .02 level. We therefore accept the idea that building-level is associated with amount of teacher-teacher dissensus. The relation between building-level and interposition dissensus is small, according to the chi square test; and we therefore conclude that building-level has relatively little association with amount of interposition dissensus. In subsequent analyses involving the relation between building dissensus and other variables of interest, we shall consider not the individual school buildings, but rather, building level.

5. Intercorrelations of Indices

The tau-beta correlation coefficient for the association between the two dissensus indices is .272, which is significant beyond the .01 level, but which also indicates that there is considerable variance in each index which is not explained by the other.

We would like to analyze the relationship between the two indices in more detail, particularly because when we present the relationship between each dissensus index and satisfaction we would like to know a little more about the teachers who have similar and different amounts of the two kinds of dissensus.

For purposes of our subsequent analyses, we have divided each dissensus index into thirds, not on the basis of the potential range of scores as described in section three, but rather on the basis of the relation between dissensus and satisfaction. The procedure by which we arrived at this second categorization is described in detail in part C of this section. For the present, we will simply assume this second division.

TABLE B-III

PER CENT LOW, MEDIUM AND HIGH IN TEACHER-TEACHER
DISSENSUS BY TEACHER-PRINCIPAL DISSENSUS

		Teacher-Principal Dissensus			
		Low 0-7	Medium 8-16	High 17-26	(N)
Teacher-Teacher Dissensus	Low, 0-6	30.4	21.7	10.5	(29)
	Medium, 7-9	52.2	50.0	10.5	(60)
	High, 10-19	17.4	28.3	78.9	(45)
	(N)	(23)	(92)	(19)	(134)

79% of the teachers who have high teacher-principal dissensus also have a high teacher-teacher dissensus, as shown in Table B-III. By contrast, half of the teachers who have low teacher-principal dissensus have medium teacher-teacher dissensus. The same percentage of teachers who have medium teacher-principal dissensus also have medium teacher-teacher dissensus. If the table is reversed, so that teacher-teacher dissensus is the "independent" variable, we see that 69% of the teachers who have low teacher-teacher dissensus have medium teacher-principal dissensus.

In other words, the data suggest that there may be a "type" of teacher who is independent-minded, or alienated, or, in any event, in high dissensus with both her principal and with other teachers in her building about the role expectations in our index. By contrast, most teachers who have low teacher-principal dissensus are apt to have medium teacher-teacher dissensus; and most teachers who have low teacher-teacher dissensus are likely to have medium teacher-principal dissensus. There is no single "type" of teacher who is a conformist, or well integrated or anyway in low dissensus with both other teachers and the principal; but rather, there is the teacher who has high consensus with her peers and medium dissensus with her principal; and the teacher who has low dissensus with her principal, and medium dissensus with other teachers.

6. Differences Between the Low, Medium, and High Dissensus Teachers

As one way of finding out what the differences between the "types" of teachers described above may be, we examined the priority rankings (of the 11 role expectation items included in our index) of the groups of teachers who had low, medium, and high dissensus with the principal; and the groups of teachers who had low, medium and high dissensus with other teachers.

Since almost all of the teachers who have high teacher-principal dissensus also have high teacher-teacher dissensus (see Table B-III; the reverse is not true, since more teachers have high dissensus with other teachers than with the principal), we may examine the pattern of rankings of the group of teachers who have high teacher-principal dissensus to find out what kind of response characterizes the "hard core" high dissensus teacher.

The teacher who has a great deal of dissensus with the principal is much less apt than the low or medium dissensus teacher to give highest priority (rank of "1") to the three role expectations which we earlier labelled pivotal attributes of the teacher's role. Only half of the high dissensus teachers give a rank of "1" to "Explaining a new idea to students," and even smaller percentages give top priority to "Discussing ways of improving one's own teaching with a supervisor," and "Listening to a student report," as Table B-IV shows.

In one sense, these figures merely constitute a validation of our indices. They show that the teachers who have high dissensus scores did not acquire these scores through idiosyncratic responses to a random assortment of items. Rather, they give lower priority than do other teachers to precisely those expectations which form the core of the teacher's role. Because of the constraints of the forced choice format, we cannot say on what aspects of the teacher's role these high-dissensus teachers place high priority (high-dissensus teachers rank almost all of the remaining items in each set higher than low or medium dissensus teachers). In any event, it seems clear that much smaller percentages of teachers who have high dissensus with the principal than those who have low or medium dissensus place highest priority on those role expectations which are most central to the teacher's role.

TABLE B-IV

PERCENTAGES OF LOW, MEDIUM AND HIGH TEACHER-PRINCIPAL DISSENSUS TEACHERS WHO GIVE THE RANK OF "1" TO 3 PIVOTAL ROLE EXPECTATIONS

	Teacher-Principal Dissensus		
	Low	Medium	High
Discussing ways of improving own teaching with a supervisor	69.9	63.5	36.8*
Explaining a new idea to students	91.3	80.2	52.6*
Listening to a student report	69.6	43.7	15.8*
(N)	(23)	(96)	(19)

*Chi-square value is significant at the .01 level.

We cannot with as much certainty characterize the low-peer medium-superior dissensus teachers, and the low-superior medium-peer dissensus teachers. However, we do have some indications of these differences, in the responses to a few of the role items. Table B-IV shows that the teacher who has low dissensus with the principal is consistently more likely to give high priority to the pivotal role expectations than is the medium dissensus teacher. (The low teacher-principal dissensus scores of these teachers do not seem to derive specifically from these items, however, since larger percentages of the teachers who have low teacher-principal dissensus than of the principals themselves give highest priority to these items.) This suggests a picture of the teacher who has low teacher-principal dissensus as "over-conforming" to the generally-held norms of the system.

There are two items which the low dissensus (with principal) teachers rank in a way much more similar to that of the principal than of other teachers. They are: "Attending an in-service training activity," and "Discussing a good student with his parents." 61% of both principals and low dissensus teachers give the rank of 1 or 2 to attending an in-service training activity, while only 37% of the medium dissensus teachers accord this importance to it. 31% of the principals, 17% of the low dissensus teachers, and only 6% of the medium dissensus teachers give a rank of 1 or 2 to discussing a good student with his parents. Both of these comparisons, but especially the first, suggest that the low-dissensus teacher may concur with official ideology at the expense of the separate interests of the teacher's status. While administrators in general probably believe that in-service training is a "good thing," and in fact extra course credits are often required for pay increments, most teachers probably feel that the usefulness of these courses is extremely limited.

When we look for differences between teachers who have low and medium dissensus with other teachers, we find one item which the two groups rank in strikingly different ways. 94% of the teachers who have low dissensus with their peers accord a rank of 1 or 2 to "Extra reading for classroom work," while only 59% of the medium peer-dissensus teachers do so. Even fewer -- 38% -- of the principals expect that teachers will place a high priority on this activity. This is a private activity, which no one but the teacher herself knows that she is performing. It seems that the teacher who has low teacher-teacher dissensus is more apt to place high value on this self-enhancing activity than are either principals or teachers who have medium dissensus with other teachers.

C. Satisfaction and Dissensus: The Two Variable Realtionship

In Parts A and B we presented our procedures for measuring the variables of chief interest, and their distributions in the school system. We are working with three types of satisfaction: instrumental satisfaction with the system as a whole, affective satisfaction with the system as a whole, and affective satisfaction with own school building; and two types of dissensus: inter-position, or teacher-principal dissensus, and intraposition, or teacher-teacher dissensus.

We are now in a position to test the hypotheses we have made about the relationships of each of the two dissensus types with each of the three satisfaction types, on both the individual and the building level.

Our basic hypotheses, at the outset of the research, were that there is a linear relationship between intraposition dissensus and system-instrumental, system-affective, and building-affective satisfaction, such that individulas who have the least dissensus (the most consensus) are the most satisfied; we hypothesized a linear relationship in the same direction between interposition dissensus and each of the three satisfaction types. The data presented here will lend modest support to the hypothesized relationship between intraposition, or teacher-teacher dissensus, and satisfaction. By contrast, we will find no confirmation for the hypothesized relationship between interposition dissensus and satisfaction. Rather, we will see that teachers who have medium disagreement with their principals are more satisfied than either teachers who agree most (low dissensus) or teachers who disagree most with their principals (high dissensus).

Intraposition Dissensus and Satisfaction

In our initial analysis of the relationship between teacher-teacher dissensus and satisfaction, we created five dissensus categories, and examined the amount of satisfaction of teachers who fell into each dissensus category. Table C-I shows that the teachers who agree most with their peers have the most building-affective satisfaction, while those who disagree most are least satisfied. The relationship between dissensus and instrumental satisfaction is also roughly linear. There is virtually no relationship between teacher-teacher dissensus and affective satisfaction.

In forming working categories of intraposition dissensus, we could have decided on either a dichotomous division (0-9 and 10-19) or a trichotomous one (0-6, 7-9, and 10-19). Even though the total number of teachers in our sample is fairly small, the drop in building-affective satisfaction in the 7-8 dissensus category and the slight rise in instrumental satisfaction in the same category, convinced us that a trichotomy would be more sensitive in revealing differences in satisfaction levels. (The complex analysis of Part D justifies the advisability of this procedure).

TABLE C-I

Mean Building-Affective, Instrumental, and Affective Satisfaction Scores by Intraposition (Teacher-Teacher) Dissensus

	Intraposition Dissensus				
	0-6	7-8	9	10-11	12-19
Building-Affective Satisfaction	59.3	55.8	57.6	54.2	54.5
(N)	(30)	(31)	(26)	(27)	(17)
Instrumental Sat.	61.1	62.3	62.8	57.9	56.1
(N)	(32)	(36)	(27)	(29)	(21)
Affective Satisfaction	30.8	31.5	31.3	30.6	29.3
(N)	(32)	(36)	(27)	(29)	(21)

Table C-II shows the satisfaction levels of teachers in the three "collapsed" intraposition dissensus categories.

TABLE C-II

Building-Affective, Instrumental, and Affective Satisfaction by Intraposition Dissensus (Trichotomized)

	Intraposition Dissensus		
	Low 0-6	Medium 7-9	High 10-19
Building-Affective Satisfaction	59.3*	56.6	54.3
(N)	(30)	(57)	(44)
Instrumental Sat.	61.1	62.5	57.1
(N)	(32)	(63)	(49)
Affective Satisfaction	30.8	31.4	30.1
(N)	(32)	(63)	(49)

*tau-beta= .15, sig. at .05 level

On the basis of this presentation, we see that the hypothesized linear relationship between intraposition dissensus and building-affective satisfaction is confirmed at the .05 level of significance. Teachers who have low intraposition dissensus are, indeed, most satisfied with the affective side of their own school building.

The hypothesized relationship between instrumental satisfaction and dissensus is offered some support by the drop in satisfaction in the high dissensus category. In other words, even though teachers who have low and medium dissensus with their peers have about the same amounts of instrumental satisfaction, teachers who have high intraposition dissensus report less satisfaction than teachers in either of the other two categories. This is consistent with the originally hypothesized relationship.

There is virtually no relationship between satisfaction with the affective side of the system and intraposition dissensus; the hypothesis is not supported with respect to this type of satisfaction.

In sum, when we look at three tests of the basic hypothesis, we find that in one case the hypothesis is neither confirmed nor denied by the data, in a second case the data tend to support the hypothesis, and in a third the hypothesis is supported at a statistically significant level. Overall, modest support for the inverse relationship between satisfaction and intraposition dissensus has been offered.

Interposition Dissensus and Satisfaction

Six categories of teacher-principal dissensus were formed for purposes of initial analysis of the relation between interposition dissensus and the three types of satisfaction. The most striking observation that can be made about Table C-III is that there is a perfectly curvilinear relationship between interposition dissensus and each of the three types of satisfaction (with the slight exception of the .3 rise in instrumental satisfaction in the 14-16 dissensus category over the 12-13 category), such that teachers who have medium dissensus with the principal are the most satisfied. There is a broad band of disagreement with the principal which is compatible with high satisfaction, but once a teacher falls outside of that band, either in the direction of unusually low dissensus (high agreement), or unusually high dissensus, her satisfaction drops.

It is clear that for the purpose of analyzing the relationship between interposition dissensus and satisfaction, it is necessary to form three dissensus categories. It is further evident that it is the teachers in the extreme category at either end of the dissensus range who reported a different amount of satisfaction than those in the middle four categories. The latter were accordingly combined, to form the "medium dissensus" group. The results of this procedure are shown in Table C-IV.

TABLE C-III

Building-Affective, Instrumental, and System-Affective Satisfaction by Interposition (Teacher-Principal) Dissensus

	Interposition Dissensus					
	0-7	8-9	10-11	12-12	14-16	17-26
Building Affective Satisfaction	52.4	57.9	59.2	57.8	56.4	54.6
(N)	(23)	(16)	(24)	(22)	(25)	(16)
Instrumental Satisfaction	54.6	63.8	63.9	61.8	62.1	55.7
(N)	(23)	(22)	(26)	(24)	(28)	(20)
Affective Satisfaction	27.7	31.7	32.3	32.5	31.6	30.2
(N)	(23)	(22)	(26)	(24)	(28)	(20)

TABLE C-IV

Building-Affective, Instrumental, and System-Affective Satisfaction by Interposition Dissensus (Trichotomized)

	Interposition Dissensus		
	Low	Medium	High
	0-7	8-16	17-26
Building-Affective Satisfaction	52.4	57.8	54.6
(N)	(23)	(87)	(16)
Instrumental Satisfaction	54.6	62.8	55.7
(N)	(23)	(100)	(20)
Affective Satisfaction	27.7	32.0	30.2
	(23)	(100)	(20)

We see again that it is the teachers who have medium interposition dissensus who are the most satisfied. These data concerning the realtionship between teacher-principal dissensus and satisfaction clearly do not support our basic hypothesis. In place of the predicted relationship, we observe a different pattern--one which was not expected, but which consistently involves fairly large differences.* The low dissensus teachers (those who agree most with their principals), report less of each of the three types of satisfaction which we have measured than do the medium dissensus teachers. This is the group which presents difficulties to our basic hypothesis. (The fact that teachers who have high dissensus from the principal also report low satisfaction presents no problem to us, since we predicted that these teachers would have low levels of satisfaction.) Even though we did not expect a different relationship between intraposition dissensus and satisfaction, and interposition dissensus and satisfaction, we should not, in fact, be surprised when we find that low dissensus from peers has a very different relation to satisfaction than does low dissensus from a superior.

Two other aspects of the data presented in Table C-IV call for brief comment. The low dissensus teachers report less of each of the three types of satisfaction than do the high dissensus teachers. These differences are small, in each case, and we will not attempt to draw any further conclusions about the relative satisfaction of the low and high interposition dissensus teachers.

The absolute number of teachers in both the low and high dissensus categories is small. This suggests that the teachers in these categories may, in some sense, be regarded as "deviant;" alternatively, the small number of teachers in these categories may be attributable simply to our small total sample.

Before closing the subject of the two-variable relationship between individual interposition dissensus and satisfaction, we will present one more table. Since the relationship between teacher-principal dissensus and each of the three satisfaction indices was so similar, we formed an index of "total" satisfaction, by classifying each teacher as being "low," in all three types of satisfaction, "high," in all three types of satisfaction, or a mixture of low in one or two, and high in the other. The relationship between teacher-principal dissensus and total satisfaction is shown on Table C-V.

---

*Here we note the difficulty of finding an adequate measure of association, or statistical test of significance, for the curvilinear relationship. The tau-beta measure of association, which we reported for the linear relationship between intraposition dissensus and building-affective satisfaction, is useless in measuring a curvilinear relation: a perfect curvilinear relationship will yeild a tau-beta value of 0. The analysis of variance technique requires that the data be measured on an interval scale, an assumption which we, along with most sociologists, are unwilling to make. This leaves us with no alternative but the chi square measure of association, a measure which is cruder than tau-beta. Having said this, we may point out here that the difference in the mean building-affective satisfaction scores of teachers who have low and high intraposition dissensus is 5.0. The difference in the mean building-affective satisfaction scores of teachers who have low and medium interposition dissensus is 5.4. This comparison has no technical standing; however, it serves to give us some idea of how "large" the difference is.

TABLE C-V

Total Satisfaction by Interposition Dissensus*

		Interposition Dissensus		
		Low 0-7	Medium 8-16	High 17-26
Total Satisfaction	Low-All 3	48%	19%	25%
	Mixture	26%	38%	58%
	High-All 3	26%	43%	17%
	(N)	(23)	(74)[a]	(12)[a]

*The chi-square value = 10.775, which is significant between the .05 and .02 level.

[a] The number of cases in the medium and high dissensus categories is smaller here than in Table C-IV, because teachers for whom all three satisfaction scores were not available, were not included in this table.

The result of combining the three indices has been to make the curvilinear relationship between teacher-principal dissensus and satisfaction more obvious. Slightly less than half of the teachers who have low teacher-principal dissensus fall into the "low" category of all three satisfaction indices. 43% of the teachers who have medium dissensus from the principal are high in satisfaction according to all three indices, while only 26% of the low dissensus teachers, and 17% of the high dissensus teachers fall into the high category. Once again, we see that the teacher who has medium role dissensus with the principal is more satisfied (in this case, with all aspects of the school system) than either the teacher who agrees most or the teacher who disagrees most with the principal.

School Building Dissensus and Individual Satisfaction

We have seen that there is a relation (inverse) between the amount of intra-position dissensus of the individual teacher and her satisfaction; and that there is a relation (curvilinear) between the amount of inter-position dissensus of the individual teacher and her satisfaction. Now, we would like to determine whether the satisfaction of the individual teacher has any relation to the amount of dissensus in the school building as a whole.

Intraposition Dissensus

We have divided the school buildings into six intraposition dissensus categories. Table C-VI shows the relationship between amount of intra-position dissensus in the school building, and the satisfaction of the teachers in the building.

TABLE C-VI

Building-Affective, Instrumental, and System-Affective Satisfaction by

School Building Intraposition Dissensus

	.47-.58	.73-.81	.84	.87-.89	.94-1.01	1.27-1.35
Building-Affective Satisfaction	60.6	59.3	58.1	55.9	53.5	55.0
(N of individuals)	(11)	(11)	(40)	(20)	(36)	(26)
(N of buildings)	(2)	(2)	(1)	(3)	(3)	(2)
Instrumental Satisfaction	64.3	56.9	62.5	60.7	54.2	56.9
(N of individuals)	(11)	(13)	(44)	(26)	(40)	(28)
(N of buildings)	(2)	(2)	(1)	(3)	(3)	(2)
Affective Satisfaction	31.6	31.0	32.3	31.2	29.0	29.1
(N of individuals)	(11)	(13)	(44)	(26)	(40)	(28)
(N of buildings)	(2)	(2)	(1)	(3)	(3)	(2)

The relationship between building-affective satisfaction and the amount of intraposition dissensus in the school building is almost perfectly linear. The school buildings with the smallest amount of teacher-teacher dissensus have the teachers who are most satisfied with the affective side of the school building; teacher satisfaction declines steadily as amount of intraposition dissensus increases, except for a slight rise in the satisfaction level of teachers in the buildings with the most intraposition dissensus.

The relationship between amount of intraposition dissensus in the building and instrumental satisfaction is roughly linear, although there are two bumps in the line (the relatively high satisfaction in the buildings with .87-.89 intraposition dissensus and the buildings with the highest intraposition dissensus).

There are only very small differences between the buildings in system-affective satisfaction, but it is the case that teachers in the three school building categories of lowest intraposition dissensus are slightly more satisfied than teachers in the three school building categories of highest intraposition dissensus.

In sum, we have seen that teachers in the school buildings where intraposition dissensus in lowest (i.e., where teachers agree most with other teachers about role expectations for their own jobs) are generally more satisfied than are teachers in school buildings where intraposition dissensus is high. We expected that this relation would be seen most clearly in the association of intraposition dissensus to building-affective satisfaction, since dissensus with other teachers in the school building ought to be related to how much affective satisfaction the building provides the teacher, and this is, in fact, the case.

We conclude that the relationship between individual intraposition dissensus and satisfaction, and school building intraposition dissensus and individual satisfaction, is roughly the same, and in the direction that we originally predicted.

Interposition Dissensus.

The school buildings were divided into six categories on the basis of their interposition, or teacher-principal, dissensus. Table C-VII shows the relationship between interposition dissensus in the school building, and the satisfaction of teachers in the building.

There is virtually no association between any of the three satisfaction indices and the amount of interposition dissensus in the school building. Teachers in the buildings with the least interposition dissensus have less building-affective satisfaction than teachers in any of the other school buildings. (This is what we expected, on the assumption that individual satisfaction would have a similar relation to building dissensus as to individual dissensus.) This is not true, however, for either of the other two satisfaction indices. In general, the differences in amounts of satisfaction among the six building dissensus categories are small, and present no clear pattern.

TABLE C-VII

Building-Affective, Instrumental, and System-Affective Satisfaction by School Building Interposition Dissensus

	School Building Interposition Dissensus					
	.52-.59	.60	.73-.75	.80-.86	.98-1.08	1.20-1.24
Building-Affective Satisfaction	51.1	58.1	56.4	55.9	57.3	58.7
(N of individuals)	(14)	(40)	(36)	(17)	(18)	(14)
(N of buildings)	(2)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(2)	(2)
Instrumental Satisfaction	57.7	62.5	59.2	57.6	57.3	59.5
(N of individuals)	(17)	(44)	(39)	(19)	(21)	(15)
(N of buildings)	(2)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(2)	(2)
Affective Satisfaction	30.6	32.3	31.8	28.7	30.3	30.3
(N of individuals)	(17)	(44)	(39)	(19)	(21)	(15)
(N of buildings)	(2)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(2)	(2)

In reviewing the findings reported so far, we may summarize them as follows: 1) The inverse relationship between individual intraposition dissensus and building-affective and instrumental satisfaction, such that the low dissensus teacher is most satisfied, supports our hypothesis. There is no relation between individual intraposition dissensus and system-affective satisfaction. 2) There is a curvilinear relation, such that the medium dissensus teacher is most satisfied, between interposition dissensus and each of three types of satisfaction. This pattern is counter to our hypothesis. When the three types are combined to form a measure of total satisfaction, the curvilinear relation is more sharply defined than it is when the relation to dissensus is considered for any of the satisfaction indices singly. 3) The relation between building intraposition dissensus and individual satisfaction is an inverse one. The relation is most marked for building-affective satisfaction, and barely apparent for system-affective satisfaction. 4) There is no relation between building interposition dissensus and satisfaction.

D. Intraposition Dissensus and Satisfaction: Multivariate Analysis

In this part, we have chosen to analyze further the relationship between intraposition, or teacher-teacher, dissensus and satisfaction. When the two-variable relationship between dissensus and each of the three types of satisfaction was examined above, we found that low intraposition dissensus teachers (those who agree most with other teachers about role expectations for their own jobs), have the most satisfaction with their school building, while high dissensus teachers (those who disagree most), were the least satisfied. A smaller relationship, in roughly the same linear direction, is seen in the two-variable relationship between teacher-teacher dissensus and instrumental satisfaction. There is virtually no difference in the system-affective satisfaction of teachers who have low, medium, or high dissensus with other teachers.

Here we will explore these basic findings in more detail. Our chief tool will be the introduction into the analysis of several antecedent, or "background," variables. In particular, type of undergraduate schooling, years in the system, socioeconomic status (as measured by father's education), sex, and age, will be critical. The relation between dissensus and satisfaction will be examined again, for different values of each of these variables. For instance, tables showing amounts of satisfaction for low, medium, and high dissensus teachers will be presented separately for those who attended teacher-training college, and for those who attended liberal arts college. We hope by this means to show that the relationship between dissensus and satisfaction varies under different social conditions.

Interest will focus expecially on the low-dissensus teacher. We will show that very different amounts of satisfaction are reported by the low dissensus teacher-training graduate as compared with the low dissensus liberal arts graduate, the low dissensus woman as compared with the low dissensus man, and so on. In general, we will be able to say that low dissensus is experienced very differently by people in different social positions.

Low dissensus teachers who received their undergraduate training at teacher-training schools, whose fathers had only a high school education or less, who are women, who are 50 or over, and who have been in the same school building for five years or more will be shown to be much more satisfied, according to all three measures of satisfaction, than low dissensus teachers in the counterpart statuses of those just listed. We will offer the tentative explanation that it is those teachers who are most likely to take "other teachers," as a reference group who are especially satisfied when they are in low dissensus with (agree with) other teachers in their building.

The Influence of Schooling

TABLE D-I

MEAN SATISFACTION BY INTRAPOSITION DISSENSUS
AND TYPE OF UNDERGRADUATE SCHOOLING

	Teacher-Training School			Liberal Arts School		
	Dissensus			Dissensus		
	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High
Building-Affective Satisfaction	64.3*	55.4	54.6	55.6	58.8	53.4
(N)	(13)	(30)	(25)	(11)	(19)	(14)
Instrumental Satisfaction	70.9*	60.9	54.8	53.7	65.7	50.0
(N)	(14)	(33)	(30)	(11)	(22)	(15)
System-Affective Satisfaction	36.5*	30.4	28.8	26.7	32.7	31.5
(N)	(14)	(33)	(30)	(11)	(22)	(15)

*sig. betw. .05 and .01 level (using tau-beta measure of correlation)

Looking first at the effect on satisfaction of different amounts of dissensus within the group of teachers who received their undergraduate education at a teacher-training college, (See Table D-I) it is apparent that the association between high dissensus and low building-affective and instrumental satisfaction observed in the original two-variable table is enhanced greatly. The lack of a two-variable relationship between dissensus and affective satisfaction is changed into a large association, in the same direction, when only teachers who received their undergraduate training at teacher-training school are considered. It can be seen also that the largest decline in amount of satisfaction occurs between the low and medium dissensus groups, although there is a small decline in moving from the medium to the high dissensus group as well.

The relationship of dissensus to satisfaction among those who went to liberal arts colleges is quite different. Although the differences in satisfaction between the three dissensus categories are smaller (except for the instrumental satisfaction index), it is clearly the medium dissensus group which reports the most of all three types of satisfaction. That is, liberal arts graduates who have a moderate amount of disagreement with other teachers are more satisfied than either teachers who have extremely low or extremely high dissensus.

If we compare those who went to teacher-training school with those who went to liberal arts college, for each dissensus category separately, we find that an unusually large difference between these two groups of teachers occurs among those who have low dissensus (high agreement) with other teachers in their building. For those teachers who received their undergraduate training at teacher-training colleges, low dissensus is associated with unusually high satisfaction, while, by contrast, low dissensus is associated with average or less-than-average satisfaction for teachers who went to liberal arts college. Teachers in the system as a whole have a mean building-affective satisfaction score of 55.5, a mean instrumental satisfaction score of 58.3, and a mean system-affective satisfaction score of 30.3. Liberal arts graduates who have low dissensus with other teachers have the same amount of mean building-affective satisfaction as teachers in the system as a whole, and somewhat less instrumental and system-affective satisfaction than the average teacher in the system. By contrast, the teacher-training school graduates who have low dissensus with other teachers have a mean building satisfaction score of 64.3, a mean instrumental satisfaction score of 70.9, and a mean affective satisfaction score of 36.5. In other words, the relationship of low dissensus to satisfaction is radically different for teacher-training college graduates and liberal arts graduates.

The Influence of Length of Service in School Building

TABLE D-II

MEAN SATISFACTION BY INTRAPOSITION DISSENSUS AND NUMBER OF YEARS IN IN SCHOOL BUILDING

	5 or more years in school building			0-4 years in building		
	Dissensus			Dissensus		
	low	medium	high	low	medium	high
Building-affective Satisfaction	62.6*	58.1	55.3	57.8	54.8	53.8
(N)	(7)	(28)	(16)	(21)	(25)	(25)
Instrumental Satisfaction	69.4	65.8	60.7	58.1	59.3	55.9
(N)	(8)	(28)	(18)	(22)	(30)	(26)
System-Affective Satisfaction	35.3	30.3	31.4	29.3	32.3	29.9
	(8)	(28)	(18)	(22)	(30)	(26)

*tau-beta = .187, sig. betw. .05 and .10 level

For teachers who have been in the school building for five years or more, there is a linear relationship between dissensus and satisfaction, such that the low dissensus teachers have the highest scores on all three satisfaction indices. The differences between the dissensus categories are not as large as they were for the teacher-training school graduates (and in fact, high dissensus teachers have slightly more system-affective satisfaction than medium dissensus teachers), but the linear relationship between dissensus and satisfaction still emerges plainly.

The picture is not so clear for teachers who have been in the school building for only four years or less. There is less difference between the three dissensus categories for all three types of satisfaction, for this group of teachers. There is a small linear relationship between dissensus and satisfaction with the school building, a small curvilinear relationship between dissensus and affective satisfaction (medium dissensus teachers most satisfied), while high dissensus teachers have somewhat lower instrumental satisfaction than do either low or medium dissensus teachers. Probably the most important thing to be said about this table is that the association between intraposition dissensus and satisfaction, for teachers who have been in the fuilding four years or less, is small. None of the relationships shown are statistically significant.

If the effect of dissensus is examined, with years in the building held constant, it is evident that low dissensus is associated with unusually high satisfaction among teachers who have been in the building for a long time, but low dissensus is associated with average, or below average, satisfaction for newcomers. In general (table not presented), those who have been teaching in the building for a long time report somewhat more instrumental and building-affective satisfaction than do newcomers. (This difference is reflected in the comparison of amounts of satisfaction for every dissensus level, as measured by all three indices--except for the higher system-affective satisfaction of medium dissensus newcomers). Even taking this fact into account, however, we can see that the largest differences occur in the comparisons between low dissensus newcomers and low dissensus oldtimers.

The Influence of Age

When teachers are divided by age into those under 49 and those 50 years old and over, the older teachers resemble those who have been in the school building five years or more, while the younger teachers resemble newcomers to the building. This is to be expected, since 85% of the older teachers have in fact been in the building five years or more.

The Influence of Socio-Economic Status

Among those teachers whose fathers had only a high school education or less, the linear relationship between dissensus and satisfaction, already familiar through its appearance for those who went to teacher-training school, and the oldtimers in the school building, is once again evident. (See Table D-III.) Low dissensus teachers have unusually high satisfaction, medium dissensus teachers are less satisfied, while high dissensus teachers are unusually dissatisfied. Even though there are only nine low dissensus teachers represented in this table, the association between dissensus and satisfaction is so large it could have occurred by chance only one time in a hundred.

TABLE D-III

MEAN SATISFACTION BY INTRAPOSITION DISSENSUS AND FATHER'S EDUCATION

	Father Finished H.S. Only			Father Attended College		
	Dissensus			Dissensus		
	low	medium	high	low	medium	high
Building-Affective Satisfaction	62.1*	57.8	54.6	54.9	53.9	54.4
(N)	(9)	(14)	(14)	(16)	(35)	(25)
Instrumental Satisfaction	67.5	64.5	61.6	50.8	58.7	49.1
(N)	(17)	(39)	(30)	(9)	(16)	(15)
System-Affective Satisfaction	23.2	21.5	21.8	16.6	20.9	17.1
(N)	(17)	(39)	(30)	(9)	(16)	(15)

*sig. at .01 level

There is virtually no relationship between intraposition dissensus and satisfaction, for those teachers whose fathers attended college.

As before, even though teachers whose fathers had only a high school education are generally more satisfied, this discrepancy is exaggerated for the low dissensus teachers. (The difference between the mean scores of those whose fathers had only a high school education and those whose fathers went on to college in building-level satisfaction, for instance, is 2.8, while the difference between the scores of the low dissensus teachers in the two groups is 7.2.)

The Influence of Sex

The relationship between dissensus and satisfaction for women teachers is similar to that for teachers whose fathers had only a high school edu-

2

8

cation; that is, the low dissensus women are most satisfied, the high dissensus women least so. (See Table D-IV.) This pattern is especially marked when building-affective satisfaction is considered. Low and medium dissensus teachers have almost identical amounts of instrumental and system-affective satisfaction, and the drop in satisfaction for high dissensus teachers is modest.

TABLE D-IV

MEAN SATISFACTION BY INTRAPOSITION DISSENSUS AND SEX

	Women			Men		
	Dissensus			Dissensus		
	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High
Building-Affective Satisfaction	59.8*	55.2	54.3	54.3	59.4	54.4
(N)	(25)	(36)	(26)	(4)	(20)	(18)
Instrumental Satisfaction	62.3	62.0	58.5	55.4	54.0	55.3
(N)	(26)	(40)	(28)	(5)	(22)	(22)
Sustem-Affective Satisfaction	31.4	31.1	30.5	28.6	31.5	29.6
(N)	(26)	(40)	(28)	(5)	(22)	(22)

*sig. at .05 level

Among the men, there is a curvilinear relationship between dissensus and building-affective satisfaction, and dissensus and system-affective satisfaction; and virtually no relationship between dissensus and instrumental satisfaction.

When low dissensus women are compared with low dissensus men, we find that the low dissensus women report more of each of the three types of satisfaction than do the men. (Since the overall satisfaction scores of men and women are the same on all three indices, this difference can probably be attributed to the effect of sex within the low dissensus category.)

Summarizing the tables we have presented here, we can draw the following conclusions: 1) There is a marked linear relationship between dissensus and building-affective, instrumental, and system-affective satisfaction: the low dissensus teachers are the most satisfied, and the high dissensus teachers the least satisfied, among those groups of teachers who attended teacher-training school, who have been in their school building for five years or more, are 50 years old or over, whose fathers had only a high school education or less, and who are women; 2) The pattern of relationships between dissensus and satisfaction among liberal arts college graduates, those in the school building four years or less, those under 50, those whose fathers attended college, and men is less clear. Medium dissensus liberal arts college graduates are most satisfied on all three satisfaction dimensions; medium dissensus teachers in the building four years or less have most system-affective satisfaction; medium dissensus teachers whose fathers went to college have most system-affective and instrumental satisfaction; and medium dissensus men have most building-affective and system-affective satisfaction. The remaining comparisons show either no differences in satisfaction among the three dissensus groups, or a modest linear relationship. 3) Low dissensus among the groups mentioned in (1) is associated with much higher satisfaction than is low dissensus among the groups mentioned in (2), and this difference between the groups holds every time the comparison is made, and on the basis of all three dimensions of satisfaction.

Exploration of Explanations

What can account for this series of surprising specifying tables? We shall look for some common factor in the social structural position of those teachers whose fathers had only a high school education, who went to a teacher-training college, who have been in the school building for five years or more, and who are women. We hypothesize that each of these status groups is more likely to take "other teachers" as a reference group than are their counterpart statuses: those whose fathers went to college, those who themselves went to a liberal arts college, those who have been in the school building for four years or less, and men.

Let us consider each of these divisions. Teachers who received their undergraduate training at a teacher-training college probably are prototypical of the teachers who take other teachers as a reference group. As youngsters finishing high school, many of these teachers already knew, or seriously considered the possibility, that they would like to make teaching their career. Accordingly, they enrolled in a teacher's college, or the teacher preparation unit of a state college or a university. From their first year of college they were favorably disposed towards the attitudes of educators. Their training included the opportunity to student-teach (which involves a close relationship with an experienced teacher), or at least the opportunity to observe experienced teachers in the classroom. Their own classroom teachers were very likely to have taught in elementary or high school at some time in the past. In short, the teacher who received her undergraduate training at a teacher-training college is very likely to have had both favorable initial attitudes towards teaching as a career, and also, considerable opportunity for anticipatory socialization. It seems very likely that once she becomes a teacher, she will orient herself positively toward the normative expectations of other teachers. When she finds herself in agreement with them in their expectations about the teacher's role (low intraposition role dissensus), she feels very satisfied with the school system and with her own school building.

By contrast, the person who has gone to a liberal arts college, or a unit other than the teacher preparation unit of a state college or university, was less likely to be actively considering teaching at the time she began undergraduate schooling. In fact, she may have hoped for a different career, and at some later point have decided to teach, due to various negative or expedient considerations, such as poor performance in other courses, the condition of the job market when she graduated from college, (or, for women, and over half of our sample are female) her single condition or factors related to her husband's career plans. Such a teacher would be much less likely than the teacher-training college graduate to take other teachers as a reference group. The graduate of a liberal arts college may be more apt to orient herself to the expectations of peers in her college major, or to graduates who took alternative jobs that she may also have considered. In general, we would expect the liberal arts graduate to be familiar with a wider range of occupational areas, to be better qualified for other jobs, and also, perhaps, to be more actively considering jobs in other areas, than the teacher-training college graduate. These considerations would lead her away from taking other teachers as a reference group. We would expect the effect of low dissensus on satisfaction to be much different for this teacher than for the teacher-training college graduate, and this is in fact the case. When the liberal arts college graduate is in high agreement with other teachers, she reports average or less than average satisfaction. It seems that she derives no special satisfaction from being in agreement with a group towards which she is not positively oriented.

The teacher whose father's education did not extend beyond high school can certainly be said to have experienced social mobility in her own lifetime. Education has a high correlation with other indicators of socio-economic status, so that it can probably be said of most of our teachers whose fathers had only a high school education, that they have risen from the working class to the middle class. We would expect them to be positively oriented toward the profession which made their mobility possible, and to take other teachers as a reference group. Teachers of low SES backgrounds who have low dissensus with other teachers do report a great deal more satisfaction than either medium or high dissensus teachers of low SES background, or teachers with high SES background and low dissensus.

Teachers whose own fathers attended college can be assumed to have experienced less social mobility than teachers whose fathers did not. They may also be proud of their teaching status, but on the whole we would expect them to have less reason to be positively oriented to teaching than teachers who owe a rise in their socio-economic status to their work. Some teachers of high SES backgrounds may also take "other teachers" as a reference group, but we assume that fewer of them are induced to do so by their socially structured position. Merton (18) has pointed out that even though there are always idiosyncratic factors entering the individual's choice of reference groups, these are not significant to the same extent as choices which are determined by the individual's position in the social structure.

It seems likely that women, like those of low SES background and those whose undergraduate schooling was at teacher-training colleges, are especially likely to take "other teachers" as a reference group. Teaching is more likely to be an attractive job, relative to others that are available, to women than to men. Applying the same line of reasoning to the comparison between women and men that we applied to the comparison of teachers of low and high socio-economic backgrounds, we expect women, who probably consider teaching a "better" job for themselves than men do, to be more likely to take other teachers as a reference group. In addition, the fact that many more teachers in the system are women than men may also incline women more in the direction of a positive orientation towards the norms of other teachers.

Those teachers who have been in the building five years or more are likely, on the whole, to have made a favorable adjustment to teaching in general. They include those teachers who liked teaching from the start of their careers, and always intended to stay in their position, and others who were "converted" some time during their teaching experience. The fact that they have been in the same school building for five years or more means that they not only like teaching in general, but also like the building, and the other teachers in it, at least enough so that they have not actively sought to be transferred out of the building. Again, such teachers would seem to be especially likely to take other teachers in their building as a reference group, and to be especially satisfied when they agree with them.

Those who have been in the building four years or less, by contrast, include both young people, new to the profession, and older teachers newly transferred into the building. Generally, these teachers are probably less likely to take other teachers, and particularly other teachers in their school building, as a reference group, than are the oldtimers.

III. CONCLUSIONS

In discussing the conclusions of this research, we may begin by referring to the three objectives which we identified at the outset of our work: 1 - to analyze the contextual effects of role dissensus; 2 - to advance the study of the consequences of role dissensus; and 3 - to employ a theoretically meaningful set of indicators of organization-relevant satisfaction in testing the hypotheses about consequences of role dissensus. In making a summary evaluation of the extent to which these objectives were achieved, we achieved some small success with the first and the third, but consider that our most satisfactory work was done in the area of our second objective. In reviewing our conclusions, we will follow the order described in the preceding sentence.

We were successful in ranking the school buildings in terms of the amount of dissensus (both interposition and intraposition) which characterized them. We were not able to say that the buildings were significantly different from each other in amount of either type of dissensus. However, we did find modest confirmation of the predicted linear relationship between building intraposition dissensus and individual satisfaction: in terms of building-affective satisfaction and, to a lesser extent, instrumental satisfaction, low dissensus buildings had more satisfied teachers than did high dissensus buildings. We found no relationship between the amount of interposition dissensus in a building and the satisfaction of the teachers in the building. We did not further pursue a contextual mode of analysis: that is, we did not examine the relationship between individual satisfaction and individual dissensus, with building dissensus held constant.

We were able to empirically test the soundness of our four, theoretically derived, dimensions of satisfaction. We found that, although the distinction between instrumental and affective satisfaction held up on the system-wide level, the a priori distinction between satisfaction with system and satisfaction with own job was not empirically sound. Rather, we found that satisfaction with the system as a whole was differentiated from satisfaction with own unit of the system (school building). We did not find an instrumental/affective distinction on the school building level -- this may have been, to some extent, an artifact of the pool of indicators of satisfaction with which we originally started.

We found, fairly consistently, that there was a closer association between dissensus and building-affective satisfaction than between dissensus and either of the other two dimensions of satisfaction. In one sense, this is conceptually satisfying: the school building in which a teacher works probably impinges on her more frequently, and more intensively than does the school system as a whole. On the other hand, we are not able to find any "common sense" explanation for the fairly consistent finding of a closer association between system-instrumental satisfaction and dissensus than between system-affective satisfaction and dissensus. This led us to question the validity of the system-affective index.

We did not find a differential association between either of the two types of dissensus and any of the three dimensions of satisfaction.

Our work provides confirmation for Gross' (8) finding that low intraposition role dissensus is associated with high satisfaction. We found a statistically significant relationship between building-affective satisfaction and intraposition dissensus; a small relationship in the predicted direction between instrumental satisfaction and intraposition dissensus; and no relationship between system-affective satisfaction and intraposition dissensus.

Unlike Gross, however, who found no relationship between satisfaction and interposition dissensus (for school superintendents), we found a statistically significant curvilinear relationship between an index of total satisfaction and interposition dissensus, for teachers. The explanation for the disparity between these two findings may lie in the difference between the relationship of a school superintendent with his school board, and a teacher with her principal. While both are technically subordinate-superior relationships, in practice the expectations of the principal are probably more important to the teacher than are the expectations of the school board members to the superintendent.

We did multivariate analysis of the relationship between satisfaction and intraposition dissensus, introducing the additional variables of type of undergraduate schooling, number of years in school building, age, socio-economic status (as measured by father's education), and sex. We found that satisfaction was much more likely to be associated with low dissensus if the teacher occupied the following statuses (rather than their counterparts): graduate of a teacher-training college; in school building 5 years or more; 50 years of age or older; low socio-economic status; and female. We attempted to find an explanation for these unexpected findings, and suggested that teachers in the statuses listed would be more apt than their counterparts to take "other teachers" as a reference group. We postulated that teachers who do take other teachers as a reference group would be more likely to feel satisfied when in low dissensus (high agreement) with other teachers in their own buildings, than would teachers who do not take other teachers as a reference group. The proposed explanation, if correct, provides an additional demonstration of the utility of the reference group concept as a tool for understanding social behavior.

IV. REFERENCES

1. Biddle, Bruce J., The Present Status of Role Theory, Vol. 1, series A, (Columbia, Mo.: U. of Missouri Press, 1961).

2. Bidwell, C.E., "The Administrative Role and Satisfaction in Teaching," Journal of Educational Sociology, v. 29 (1955), 41-47.

3. _______, "Some Effects of Administrative Behavior: A Study in Role Theory," Administrative Science Quarterly, v. 2 (1957), 163-181.

4. Charters, W.W., "The Social Background of Teaching," 715-913, in N.L. Gage, ed., Handbook of Research on Teaching, (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963).

5. Doyle, L.A., A Study of the Expectancies which Elementary Teachers, School Administrators, Board Members and Parents Have of the Elementary Teachers' Role, (Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1956).

6. _______, "Role, Role Conflict and Effectiveness: An Empirical Study," American Sociological Review, v. 19 (1954), 164-175.

7. Getzels, J.W. and Guba, E.G., "The Structure of Roles and Role Conflict in the Teaching Situation," Journal of Educational Sociology, v. 29, (1955), 30-40.

8. Gross, Neal, et. al., Explorations in Role Analysis, (New York: Wiley, 1958).

9. Guba, E.G., and Bidwell, C.E., Administrative Relationships, (Chicago: Midwest Administration Center, U. of Chicago, 1957).

10. Hall, Robert, "Social Influence on the Aircraft Commander's Role," American Sociological Review, v. 20, 1955, 292-299.

11. Halpin, Andrew, The Leadership Behavior of School Superintendents, (Columbus, Ohio State University, 1956).

12. Jacobson, Eugene, et. al., "The Use of the Role Concept in the Study of Complex Organizations," J. of Social Issues, v. 7 (1951), 18-27.

13. Jenkins, D.H. and Lippitt, R., Interpersonal Perceptions of Teachers, Students and Parents, (Washington, D.C.: Division of Adult Education Series, NEA, 1951).

14. Kahn, Robert, et. al., Organizational Stress: Studies in Role Conflict and Ambiguity, (New York: Wiley, 1964).

15. Korpi, Walter, *Social Pressures and Attitudes About Military Training*, (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1964).

16. Lazarsfeld, Paul F. and Thielens, Wagner, *The Academic Mind*, (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958).

17. Lipset, S.M., Trow, Martin, and Coleman, James, *Union Democracy*, (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1956).

18. Merton, Robert K., *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957), 368-386.

18a. Nadel, S.F., *The Theory of Social Structure*

19. Rommetveit, Ragnar, *Social Norms and Roles* (Oslo: Akademisk Forlag, 1954).

20. Rosen, Aaron, *The Influence of Perceived Interpersonal Power and Consensus of Expectations on Conformity of Performance of Public Assistance Workers*, (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1963).

21. Rosencranz, Howard and Bruce Biddle, "The Role Approach to Teacher Competence," in Biddle and Ellena, eds., *Contemporary Research on Teacher Effectiveness*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964).

22. Seeman, Melvin, "Role Conflict and Ambivalence in Leadership," *American Sociological Review*, v. 18 (1953), 373-80.

23. Snoek, J. Diedrich, "Role Strain in Diversified Role Sets," *American Journal of Sociology*, v. 71 (1966), 363-73.

23a. Spier, Hans, "'The American Soldier' and the Sociology of Military Organization," in Robert K. Merton and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, *Continuities in Social Research: Studies in the Scope and Method of 'The American Soldier.'* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950), 106-132.

24. Stanton, Alfred and Schwartz, Morris, *The Mental Hospital*, (New York: Basic Books, 1954), ch. 15, 342-365.

25. Stogdill, Ralph M. et. al., *Leadership and Role Expectations*, (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University, 1956).

26. Stouffer, Samuel, "An Analysis of Conflicting Social Norms," *American Sociological Review*, v. 14 (1949), 707-17.

27. Twyman, J.P. and Bruce Biddle, "Role Conflict of Public School Teachers," *J. of Psychology*, v. 55 (1963), 183-98.

28. Washburne, Chandler, "Involvement as a Basis for Stress Analysis: A Study of High School Teachers," (Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State College, 1953).

29. Wilder, David E. and Anna Lee Hopson, *A Study of Teachers in the Public Schools of Washington, D.C.*, Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, June, 1967.